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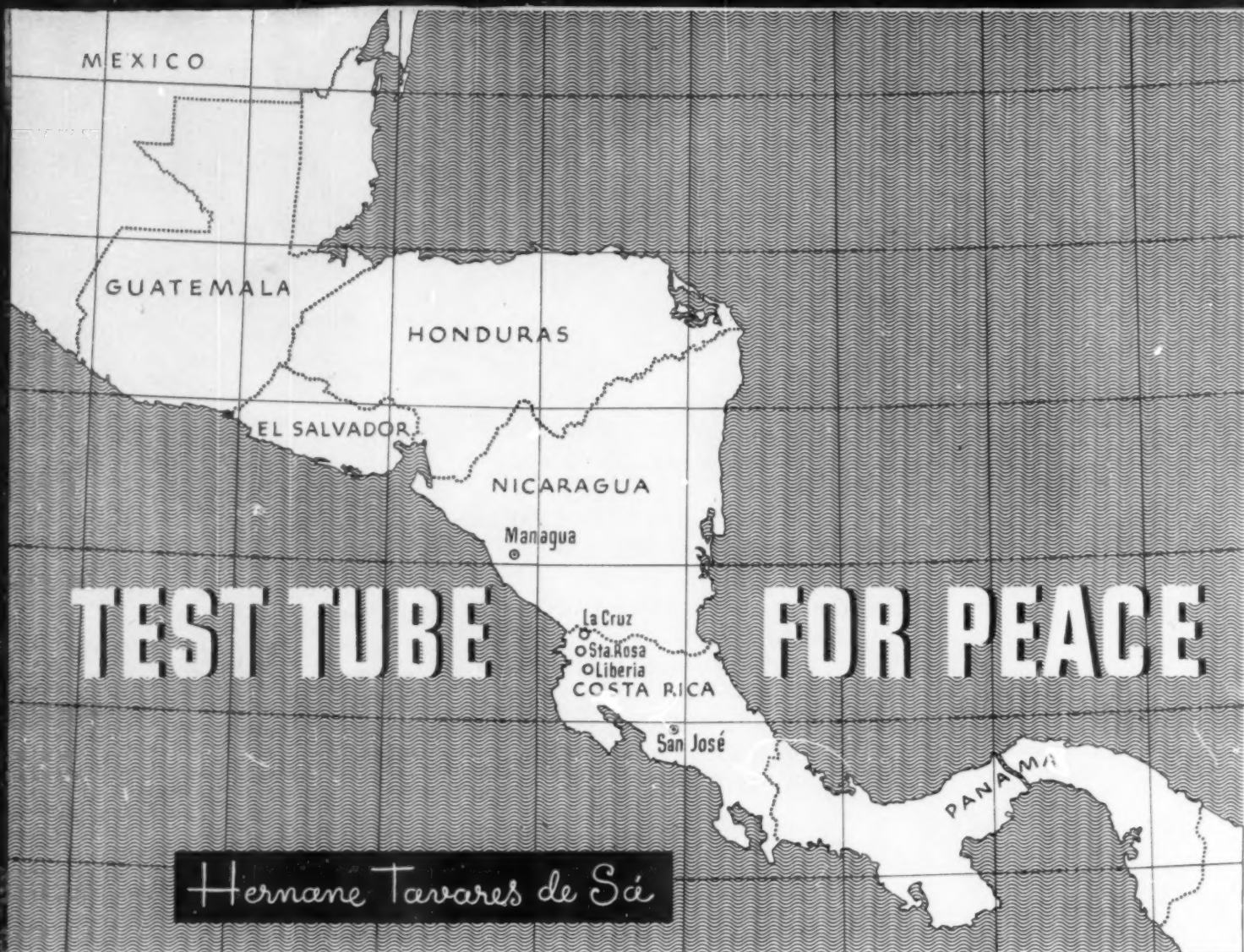
The Organization of American States is made up of 21 American nations—Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, the United States, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

The work of the Organization of American States is carried out by the Inter-American Conferences, which meet every five years in a different American capital; the Meetings of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, which can be called by any State to study problems of a political nature, or when the peace and security of the continent are affected by a situation to which the Rio Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance is applicable; and the Specialized Conferences on technical aspects of cooperation. The permanent body representing the governments of the hemisphere is the Council of the Organization of American States, which meets in Washington at the Pan American Union building. This Council, composed of a representative from each of the 21 American States, has three technical organs—the Inter-American Economic and Social Council, the Inter-American Council of Jurists, and the Inter-American Cultural Council.

The Pan American Union not only acts as General Secretariat of the Organization, but also carries out many projects of international cooperation in the juridical, economic, social, and cultural fields within the spheres of the respective Councils. The General Secretariat helps in preparations for the Inter-American Conferences, acts as custodian of their documents and archives, serves as depository of instruments of ratification of inter-American agreements, and reports to the Council on the activities of the Organization. Besides AMÉRICAS, a monthly magazine on inter-American affairs, the Pan American Union also publishes the *Annals of the Organization of American States*, an official quarterly which records the documents of the Inter-American Conferences, the Meetings of Consultation, the Council, and the other agencies of the Organization.

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*Opposite: Small carioca worn out by
Rio de Janeiro's pre-Lenten Carnival
merrymaking*



Eight days after the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance went into effect, it met its first test. On Saturday, December 11, Costa Rican Ambassador Mario Esquivel invoked the Treaty by charging that an armed force from Nicaragua had invaded Costa Rica and asked Dr. Enrique Corominas, Chairman of the Council of the Organization of American States, to call a meeting of the Council. (See page 9.)

There were two long, grueling sessions on Sunday and Tuesday. Thursday, December 16, an information committee was on its way by air to Costa Rica and Nicaragua.

A play-by-play description of the Committee's travels follows. Dr. Tavares de Sá, a Pan American Union official, accompanied the Committee.—ED.

WASHINGTON's Military Air Transport Service airfield, where the Information Committee took off on the night of December 16, lay under a heavy pall of rain and fog. But, faithful to the suggestion made at the OAS Council meeting by Ambassador Charles of Haiti, many Council members came to bid good luck to their four colleagues.

The plane reached Miami at three in the morning, still under bad weather. The big waiting room was deserted; the only splash of color and excitement was a group of pretty Cuban girls on their way home. But next morning the sun broke out over the blue Caribbean and the

only other stop, the American air base at Venum, Jamaica, was bathed in tropical light and warmth.

The colonel in command there and his assistants, all very youthful and somewhat bewildered by the plane-load of V.I.P.'s that had descended on them, rushed the Committee through a welcome lunch. Some members set out hopefully toward the base's barbershop, but were sternly called back by their colleagues. No time could be wasted and they were to land at San José with sprouting whiskers.

As the plane set its wheels on the runway of San José's modern, attractive air terminal, the first signs of tension became visible. Tents were pitched along the field and guns were in position, presumably to repel any attempt to take the airport.

When the party emerged from the plane, a big welcoming group surged forward. It included cabinet members led by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Benjamín Odio, and the famous Minister of Labor, Father Benjamín Núñez, who looks more like a studious, bespectacled seminarist than a paladin of social reform.

The international press was represented, too. Some top newspapermen were there, including AP's boyish, able Fred Stone; Jules Dubois, roving Latin American correspondent for the *Chicago Tribune*; and Jerry Hennifin, of *Time* magazine, who only a few weeks earlier had

written *Time's* cover story on Somoza. Seasoned, soft-spoken Harry Frantz, one of UP's best men, was to fly from Washington shortly afterwards. The *New York Times* and Reuters were also represented. In fact, throughout their whole stay in Costa Rica and Nicaragua, the Ambassadors and their advisors were under constant scrutiny by a group of eagle-eyed, top-flight correspondents, all of them steeped in hemisphere affairs. During the last days, the Ambassadors came to regard affectionately this inquisitive little group that dogged their steps.

A loud wave of hand-clapping rose from the crowd pressing eagerly against the fence outside the airport's gates. As the group walked toward the main building, President José Figueres appeared, smiling, informal, patently at ease among the people that surrounded him.

The extent of the popular reception that Costa Rica's capital was giving the Committee became fully apparent after the newcomers emerged from the airport building on the other side. The square was packed tight with cheering people waving white paper flags. To the left, four open automobiles were lined up, each flying the flag of one of the countries represented in the Committee. Mexico's Ambassador Luis Quintanilla took his place in the first car with President Figueres; Ambassadors Bello (Brazil), Villegas (Colombia), and Daniels (United States) were escorted by cabinet ministers to the rest of the cars in the motorcade. At least 50,000 people, representing over half of San José's population, lined the two-mile-long Paseo Colón between the airport and the hotel. The entire length of the avenue had been carpeted with flowers and still more were tossed at the passing cars. "Peace for Costa Rica!" shouted the crowd, mostly women and children. "Viva Brazil! Colombia! Mexico! The United States!" This was clearly a peace-loving, good-natured population to whom the arrival of the Inter-American Information Committee meant a great deal. It emphasized the grave responsibilities resting on the shoulders of the Ambassadors and what was expected of them by the people of Costa Rica. For, although understandably the government had encouraged the population to fill the streets, this was unmistakably a genuine, popular demonstration.

The cars finally pulled up in front of the Hotel Costa Rica, which faces a small garden-like plaza. The Ambassadors squeezed through a human corridor held open by boy scouts. A few policemen in blue denim uniforms and carrying rifles were stationed under the hotel's arcade and remained there on 24-hour duty throughout the Committee's entire stay. This was one of the first signs, on a very moderate scale, of military personnel. Along the whole route from airport to hotel not more than half a dozen soldiers were seen. This was probably intentional, since the authorities wanted to give the welcome a distinctly civilian flavor. President Figueres said that same evening over the radio: "The Committee of Ambassadors arrived at San José today and was received with flowers and the waving of white flags by our women and children. This wonderful gesture, so characteristic of Costa Rica, fortunately cannot be interpreted as a weakness,



Volunteer corps of bank employees in San José



Scenes of departure for the front



Machinegun post at El Amo

Costa Rican
volunteers



Dispatch rider brings battle news to El Amo



Below: landing field at El Amo, Costa Rica



Below: servicing patrol plane at Liberia



for while the flowers were strewn in the paths of the dignitaries, our men remained steadfastly at their battle stations behind machine-guns."

However, although patrols were about during the following days and soldiers lounged on street corners, San José did not give the impression of being mobilized on a war footing. The rigidly enforced curfew was perhaps the only outward sign of anything resembling a state of siege. At ten o'clock sharp, trucks carrying armed patrols began rolling through the streets, picking up any and all laggards. It was said that on one occasion as many as 200 people spent the night in jail for not believing the curfew would start with un-Latin punctuality.

While the Ambassadors were still standing in the hotel lobby, the Minister of War, accompanied by two aides, walked in to report to the President on the military situation. Impeccably turned out in a British-style uniform, the handsome chief of the armed forces looked to be only about 25 years old. In fact, the youthfulness of Costa Rica's cabinet was a matter of constant amazement.

That evening the members of the Committee adjourned to their respective embassies and legations to establish first contacts. The chiefs of mission had, of course, been following events closely, and their dispassionate opinions were heard with the greatest attention.

The next morning the Committee paid a visit to the President. It was received by Mr. Figueres at the Casa Amarilla, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which is an inviting, handsome building on a sun-drenched square dotted with palm trees. The Casa Amarilla was donated by Andrew Carnegie as the seat for the Central American Court of Justice at the beginning of the century. A few years later, that international court was dissolved following a disagreement between Costa Rica and Nicaragua. The main hall, where the meetings of the Committee were held, was directly across the patio and furnished in Louis XV style. The press and photographers were admitted to the first meeting, but it later proceeded behind closed doors. During this session, President Figueres produced captured weapons and equipment that allegedly were the property of Nicaragua's *Guardia Nacional*.

In the afternoon, the 28 prisoners captured by Costa Rica during the first days of the revolt were questioned. Their two leaders, the Ordóñez brothers, were at the time prize witnesses of the Costa Rican government since both came from Nicaragua. They were followed by members of the Caribbean Legion led by General Miguel Angel Ramírez who had accepted the Committee's invitation to be interviewed. Of course a great deal more was to be heard about the Caribbean Legion in Nicaragua, but all sorts of stories and rumors were already circulating in Costa Rica. Ramírez, a young Dominican exile, was one of the leaders of the Legion. He and his companions of varied nationalities had taken an important part in the revolution led by Figueres and had been responsible for the capture of Limón, Costa Rica's Caribbean port. Ramírez and his companions, who were in civilian clothes, maintained the Legion had been disbanded and its equipment returned to the Costa Rican Government.

That evening President-elect Otilio Ulate received the Ambassadors in his home and talked at length with them.

Next morning the Committee took off early to visit Liberia, capital of the northwestern province of Guanacaste where the invasion had occurred, and headquarters for government forces. President Figueres and President-elect Ulate traveled on the Committee's plane. A government plane, which took off immediately afterward, carried most members of the cabinet, the U. S. Ambassador in San José, and the foreign correspondents.

Liberia is almost at sea-level, and very much in the tropics. Gone were the cool breeze and the bracing mountain air of the capital city. The little provincial town with its dusty streets and nondescript houses looked quite different from prosperous, well-groomed San José. However, its inhabitants, mostly of Indian blood, had a certain gaiety and liveliness despite their obvious malnutrition. In the pretty central square under the shade of big trees and thick vegetation, a group of little girls was skipping rope. A hundred yards away, a squat fortress-like structure was Army Headquarters in Liberia.

Behind the tightly-closed high iron gates, a welter of activity was going on. There were soldiers everywhere, some in regulation field uniforms, others wearing a mixture of civilian and military apparel. The stacked-up weapons were equally varied. The automatic rifles and carbines were of different calibers and origin, some from as far as Italy or Czechoslovakia. One big room was half filled with food supplies, with gaping bags of black beans and rice lying on the floor.

The vast, dirt-packed courtyard was bright with sunlight, except for tiny patches of shadow made by the branches of papaya trees. Several little children were happily scurrying around chasing some elusive chickens.

The commanding officers took our party first to the map room, where the staff meets. On a hard wooden table the operations map was spread out. A few rifle bullets were used as pointers during the explanations.

The commandant of all government troops in the area was Major Ludwig Starke, who had distinguished himself during the revolution led by Figueres. The tall, dashing major, in checkered shirt and a wide-brimmed hat, looked more like the hard-riding hero of a Western movie than a military chieftain. All his fellow-officers also looked distinctly non-professional.

Throughout our stay in Costa Rica we were to see very little that indicated a military tradition or the existence of a warrior caste. This was all to the credit of the little republic, whose standards of literacy and prosperity are well above the average for Latin America. Costa Ricans emphasize two things about their country: the absence of *latifundia*, for their tillable land is broken up into more than one hundred thousand farms for a population of 800,000; and the presence of more school teachers than soldiers on the public payroll.

Later that morning the Committee interviewed several customs guards, who described themselves as survivors of the opening attack on the border town of La Cruz that led to the present situation. Lunch was served in



Arms en route by plane to front



Below: Costa Rican WAC



Daniel Oduber, Secretary of Governing Junta, with sub-machinegun at the front



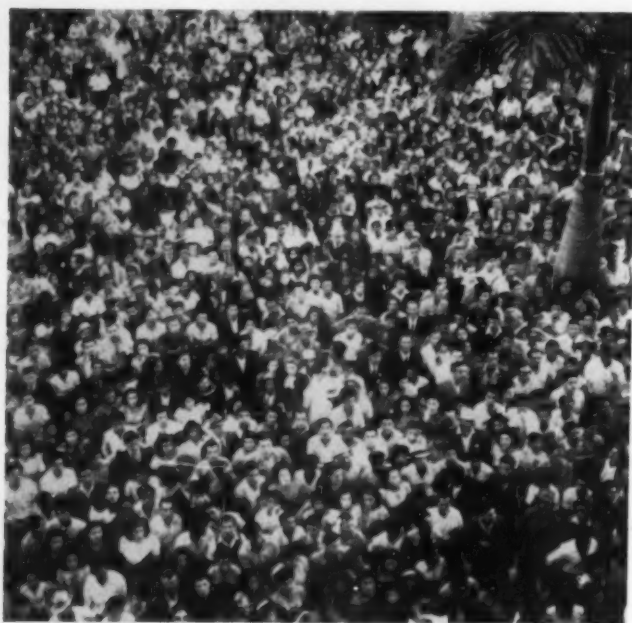
Ordóñez brothers, Nicaraguans captured by Costa Rican troops

Below: Committee at Managua reception. Left to right: Villegas of Colombia, USAF Col. Sapia-Bosch, General Somoza, President Román y Reyes, Quintanilla of Mexico, Daniels of U.S.A., Bello of Brazil





Costa Rica's chief executive with young citizens of Liberia



Crowd welcomes OAS Committee at Hotel Costa Rica, San José

Below: strewing San José streets with flowers to greet Committee



the half-covered patio of a rustic house, at a long table seating some fifty people.

Toward the end of the meal, a lively exchange of views developed among President Figueres, President-elect Ulate, and the Ambassadors on the broad philosophical problems of government. Other conversation around the table subsided as everybody became absorbed in the discussion. One of the group, straining to hear from the very foot of the table, walked up to an empty chair by Mr. Figueres and asked permission to sit there. The President assented smilingly, removed from the chair his pearl-handled pistol with the Mexican eagle on it, and thrust it back in his belt.

When the Committee reached the airport for the flight back to San José, a government plane—a U. S.-built basic trainer—was getting ready for another flight over rebel territory. A Skoda machine-gun was lying on the grass under the fuselage. The pilot explained that since the plane was not designed for combat and had no mounts for machine-guns, the firing of the weapon was mostly a question of elbow-grease.

On the way back, the Committee flew over La Cruz and the adjoining territory. No activity was visible from the air in what was supposedly the headquarters of the rebel forces. The airstrip of La Cruz was not obstructed by logs as it had been on previous occasions, and no planes were parked on it.

When we landed in San José, there was a small crowd at the airport although no announcement had been made. But this time the Costa Ricans were especially interested in their two leading public men. The crowd divided itself impartially between Mr. Figueres and Mr. Ulate and a great deal of friendly conversation and joking went on.

That night President Figueres and his attractive, Alabama-born wife entertained the Committee at his residence. Most of the diplomatic corps and cabinet were present.

The next morning the Committee left for Nicaragua. Again, the highest officials of Costa Rica were at the airport to bid the visitors farewell. It had been announced that Managua would be reached at noon, and the pilot set the plane down precisely at 12 o'clock. The welcoming group, headed by the Acting Minister of Foreign Relations, Mr. Oscar Sevilla Sacasa, also included the Nicaraguan Ambassador in Washington, Mr. Guillermo Sevilla Sacasa. Reporters from the seven local dailies lunged hungrily at the Committee. Most of the foreign correspondents who had come to Costa Rica had taken the early plane, and were also at the airport.

There was no crowd outside the air terminal; Managua's airport is some 12 miles from the city so it would not have been easy for the population to turn out. Our group was driven speedily to the hotel, where champagne was served, followed by lunch in the broad patio.

At three in the afternoon the Committee drove to the top of the hill where the Presidential Palace stands above the city. The Palace is an airy, light green building. The pointed arches of its doorways give the interior a strong Moorish appearance. The President received the Am-

bassadors on a sun porch overlooking a volcanic lake.

President Román y Reyes, a tall, trim gentleman dressed in immaculate white linen, spoke with a deep, pleasant voice. A physician by training, he mentioned only briefly the political problems that had brought the Committee to his country and spent the rest of the time discussing public health questions.

The next stop was at the huge square government building downtown that houses most of the ministries. The party was received by the acting Minister of Foreign Affairs. The reception room faces the big central plaza where the Cathedral stands; beyond spreads the lake that is Managua's handsomest feature. The party sat in big easy chairs upholstered in dark blue velvet and exchanged pleasantries for a quarter of an hour.

Then the Committee drove again towards Managua's Capitol Hill. This time the destination was "La Curva," the twin-towered building of light gray stone which serves as headquarters for the *Guardia Nacional*.

War Minister Anastasio Somoza was waiting, and a few minutes later he and other high government officials closeted themselves with the Ambassadors and their military and civilian advisers in an agreeably furnished conference room dominated by a large picture of the general.

Across the hall was General Somoza's office, where the foreign correspondents and minor Nicaraguan officials waited. The office overlooks the city; three terrestrial globes of different sizes were spotted about the room. On top of a filing cabinet there was a penny slot-machine full of colored balls of chewing gum. General Somoza's desk was cluttered with documents, photos, newspapers, gadgets. A panoply of the flags of the American republics, almost hidden under an array of miscellaneous objects, was flanked by a double caricature in porcelain of Churchill and Roosevelt.

When the closed meeting finally ended more than two hours later, the press was allowed to come in. The U. S. correspondents surrounded General Somoza, who demonstrated long experience in dealing with newspapermen. Speaking in fluent, colloquial English, he made all his points with great skill, sometimes answering a question with forceful bluntness, at other times parrying, but always intent on treating the press well.

That evening, General Somoza gave a stag dinner for the group at the Terrazza Club on the roof of one of Managua's modern buildings. The *Guardia Nacional* band in gala blue uniforms played Nicaraguan folk music.

Next morning the Committee gathered in the working room reserved for it in the hotel and embarked on what proved to be its most grueling session. Not even in Liberia was so much time spent interviewing. For seven solid hours, Room 70 of the Gran Hotel became the most interesting spot in all Nicaragua. Food was brought in, and the Ambassadors ate while they worked.

The parade of personalities began in a routine way with the Minister of Costa Rica in Nicaragua, Trino de Araya Salas. He was followed by Aguinaldo Aguado, one of the best known opposition leaders. Then came Dr. Teodoro Picado, ex-President of Costa Rica.

President Figueres sees
the Ambassadors off for Managua



President Figueres with Committee at capital airport



Costa Rican
President addresses
Committee's first
session



Committee
en route afoot
from Liberia
airport to town





Costa Rica's President-elect Otilio Ulate (left) with Foreign Minister Benjamin Odio



Nathaniel Davis, U. S. Ambassador to Costa Rica, at Liberia

Below: General Somoza entertains the Committee



The next witnesses, who were held as prisoners, were escorted by an officer of the *Guardia Nacional*. One was Colonel Juan José Tavío, a Cuban soldier of fortune whom the Nicaraguan Government announced had been captured by the *Guardia* as he was attempting to cross the border to join the rebel forces in northwestern Costa Rica. As the burly colonel left Room 70, wearing slacks and a sport shirt and smoking a fat cigar, he passed in the corridor a frail, emaciated man with the look of an intellectual. This man, also under guard, was Professor Edelberto Torres, one of the bitterest opponents of General Somoza. He had been captured by the Nicaraguan Government when his plane, flying between Guatemala and Costa Rica, made an unscheduled, surprise landing in Managua. Prof. Torres' capture was a *cause célèbre* of the year, and a torrent of controversy had arisen over the incident. Later Torres was released in response to a special plea by Committee President Quintanilla.

The fact that the Committee was able to interview persons like Aguado and Torres showed that the Nicaraguan Government was cooperating fully, as the Costa Rican Government had done. Meanwhile, the correspondents downstairs in the lobby occasionally darted from their table to question someone emerging from Room 70.

When the Ambassadors came to the end of the long list of personalities, they still found time to interview informally Colonel Anastasio Somoza, Jr., West Point trained commander of the Military Academy. And to cap it all, they turned the tables on the correspondents by calling them in to fire a number of searching questions at them.

Throughout the trip, the three military counselors to this Committee, Air General Gervasio Duncan of Brazil, General Francisco Tamayo of Colombia, and Colonel Alfonso Sapia-Bosch of the United States, made an invaluable contribution in ferreting out the military complexities of the situation. While the inquiry in Room 70 went on, Colonel Sapia-Bosch made an adventurous sortie. He took off with two of the plane crew of five, flew south across the border, and landed on La Cruz's tiny airstrip—with an amazing sense of timing, as it turned out. For fighting was going on at the moment. With dead and wounded lying around, the Colonel interviewed officers and men engaged in action. He brought back to the Committee a sizzling account from the fighting front.

That evening the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs gave a formal dinner at Managua's Country Club. This was attended by President Román y Reyes and General Somoza. The next morning the delegates were bidden goodbye by General Somoza and the Nicaraguan Ambassador to the OAS.

The return trip—by way of Mexico City—gave the Ambassadors little opportunity for rest. The Committee stayed up most of the night en route, discussing, writing, reviewing, and whipping into final shape the report for the OAS Council. Thus it was possible to present the Committee's conclusions and recommendations only twelve days after the Costa Rican charge of invasion.

The first test of the Western Hemisphere's peace machinery had set a record for speed and fairness.

HOW THE RIO TREATY WORKS

ON DECEMBER THIRD, at a simple but impressive ceremony in the Hall of the Americas of the Pan American Union, Ambassador Mario Esquivel had deposited the Costa Rican Government's ratification of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance. With Costa Rica's action, two-thirds of the states that had signed the Treaty in Rio in September 1947 had deposited ratification, and the Treaty was therefore in full force among the ratifying states. The members of the Council of the Organization and some of the delegates to the Rio Conference who had signed the Treaty attended the ceremony at the Union; among the latter were United States Senators Connally and Vandenberg. In five-minute talks, the speakers reiterated their faith in the Treaty as a guarantee of Western Hemisphere peace and security. "All for one, one for all," said Senator Vandenberg, one of the principal originators of the formula for collective self-defense that was incorporated into the United Nations Charter and became the basis for the Treaty. His deep baritone voice resounded in the great hall and made the crystal chandelier quiver overhead. About a hundred newspapermen and photographers looked on skeptically. They and many other observers doubted that the event would make as much history as the speakers said it would.

But at noon on December 11, when the Council of the Organization of American States was preparing to give a luncheon in honor of Señor Juan Atilio Bramuglia, Argentine Minister of Foreign Affairs, word came from the State Department for United States Ambassador Paul Daniels that "an incident had occurred on the border between Nicaragua and Costa Rica." Ambassador Daniels said nothing during the luncheon, but just as coffee was being served Ambassador Esquivel rose to answer an urgent telephone call from Costa Rica. Later he took leave of his colleagues and departed from the building. Some of the newspapermen already had an inkling as to what had happened, through the international news services. It was Saturday, and as the guests were leaving someone called to mind a story about a British statesman: the Prime Minister once received some alarming news on the European situation on a Saturday, just as he was leaving for a quiet weekend. "Next Monday," he said, "I am going to be very much worried," and off he went to the country.

But Ambassador Esquivel was in more of a hurry. At five o'clock that same day he saw the Secretary General of the Organization at his home. An hour later the Secretary General called at the home of the Argentine Ambassador, Enrique Corominas, Chairman of the Council. Presently Ambassador Esquivel also called on Ambassador Corominas. He delivered a note stating that on the



Pittsburgh Press views OAS' first case under Rio Treaty

night of December 10, "Costa Rican territory had been invaded by an armed force proceeding from Nicaragua." The invasion, it read, had taken place by way of La Cruz, near the northern border between Costa Rica and Nicaragua. It was estimated that the armed forces numbered about 800 men. "This action," the note went on, "is the climax of preparations that have been openly under way for some time in the Republic of Nicaragua, apparently by a group of Costa Ricans associated with the previous administration, whose purpose is the overthrow of the present Costa Rican Government. A considerable number of nationals of other countries have taken part in the subversive movement." The Treaty was then invoked, as follows:

"These facts constitute a situation which, by precipitating armed conflict in Costa Rican territory, endangers the peace of the Americas. On the strength of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance signed at Rio de Janeiro in September 1947 and at present in effect with the ratifications of fourteen of the Signatory States (Article 6 of which makes provision for a case such as this), my Government has sent me specific instructions to request you to convene the Council of the Organization of American States, so that it may be informed of the

situation described in this note and act provisionally as Organ of Consultation, in view of the urgency of the matter."

Stressing the need for immediate action, the Ambassador's note added: "The rapidity with which these developments are taking place makes it imperative that the meeting be called without delay. The troops proceeding from Nicaragua have already penetrated far into our national territory and some press notices have described the conflict as a war between Nicaragua and Costa Rica."

Ambassador Corominas read the note. Seated in the library of what was formerly Herbert Hoover's residence, the Council Chairman faced Ambassador Esquivel and Costa Rica's Minister of National Economy, Alberto Martens, who happened to be in Washington as guest of the State Department. Ambassador Corominas' horn-rimmed glasses slid down his nose. He peered over them at his visitors to ask:

"Would tomorrow afternoon, at three o'clock, be too late for the session of the Council?"

Esquivel and Martens broke into surprised smiles. Despite their hurry, they hardly expected that an international organization would violate the universal immunity of the week-end. It looked like a good beginning. But they still wondered whether it would be possible to round up the twenty-one Ambassadors for the following day.

It did not seem very likely to the newsmen either, who besieged the members of the Council for information, even in their homes. All realized that the Organization of American States, whose headquarters in Washington rarely had anything of front-page interest for the press, now did have big news. Everyone was wondering whether the Treaty would turn out to be just another treaty, or whether it would really have some utility. The papers echoed the same thought next day: "A Test for the Treaty." "The Organization Must Set an Example . . ." "If peace cannot be guaranteed in the Americas . . ."

But at three in the afternoon, the Pan American Building was an oasis of activity in the stillness of a Washington Sabbath. The Ambassadors arrived, accompanied by their counselors and secretaries. Not a vacant berth was to be found in the parking space in front of the big

square white marble building. Gathered in the tropical patio, the newsmen grumbled on learning that the press would not be admitted to the session. The gaudy macaws perched overhead shrieked in surprise and rage. Never in their twenty-odd years had their week-end quiet been so rudely disturbed.

When they took their places around the Council table the members knew no more about what had happened in Costa Rica than the newsmen. As a matter of fact, they probably knew even less. They learned the contents of Costa Rica's note only when it was read before the Council. Not even the Costa Rican Ambassador or his government knew the real proportions of the disturbance. It later developed that only about 200 troops were involved, instead of almost a thousand, as originally reported. The scene of the fighting was Costa Rica's northern frontier, far from the capital of the republic. The Nicaraguan representative, who emphatically denied any official participation by his country in the revolt, possessed no more exact information as to the size and importance of the movement.

It was obvious that the Council could do nothing until it had more information. But from the start it was conscious of its grave responsibility, as well as of the possibility that a delay might result in irreparable damage to the peace of the Americas. Costa Rica asked that the Provisional Organ of Consultation be set up immediately. This request was within its rights. But the Provisional Organ of Consultation could not act without a Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, the Principal Organ, being called. Costa Rica asked that the frontier be closed by an international military force, made up of soldiers from Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and other American republics. Costa Rica also called for an investigating commission, and it requested the governments represented on the Council to sell it arms and military equipment to repel the attack. None of these steps could be taken by the Council in its regular capacity. It could act only as an Organ of Consultation, and that only after certain technical problems were ironed out.

At its first session the Council limited itself to: 1) authorizing the Chairman to seek additional information; 2) calling another meeting for the following Tuesday, to discuss the new information and decide whether to hold a Meeting of Consultation; and 3) sending telegrams to the Presidents of Costa Rica and Nicaragua, stating that the Council was studying the situation and would "take all measures tending to preserve the international peace and security of the continent." This message may not appear quite consistent with the Council's decisions—as Council it had no authority to act—but it seems to express the feeling that, whatever happened, it was essential to give satisfaction the first time that a threat to the peace was brought up. The Ambassadors' cautious approach was not due to any hesitancy about taking action. Not for a moment were they tempted to reject the request for consultation, even if a legal basis could be found to shirk the responsibility.

Nicaragua maintained that for some time there had



OAS Council debates Costa Rica-Nicaragua case



Pan American Union, where emergency Council meeting was held

existed in Costa Rica a military group known as the Caribbean Legion, composed of Nicaraguans and nationals of other countries who conspired against the Nicaraguan Government. Such a situation, if true, would be a menace to peace in Central America.

At the second session, the following Tuesday, the Council voted unanimously to call a Meeting of Consultation of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and to turn itself into a Provisional Organ of Consultation. This done, its first step was to appoint a commission to investigate at first hand Costa Rica's charges. This five-hour session put teeth in the Treaty by establishing certain standards for its application.

The OAS Charter provides for two types of these Meetings of the Foreign Ministers. One is a meeting to consider urgent Western Hemisphere problems, without reference to the Rio pact. Any Member State may ask the Council of the Organization to call such a meeting. The Council decides by an absolute majority whether a meeting should be held. The State requesting the meeting must demonstrate that the problem is urgent enough to be considered by such a meeting.

The second type of meeting—when a Meeting of Consultation is called to serve as an Organ of Consultation to enforce the Treaty—can be requested only by a State which has ratified the Treaty. Also this type of request can be voted on only by States that have ratified. Again, an absolute majority vote is necessary to call the meeting. The Meeting of Consultation is limited to Ministers of Foreign Affairs of those American republics that have ratified the Treaty.

If a State had requested a general Meeting of Consultation of the first type, representatives of all twenty-one American States would have voted, and eleven votes would have been required for an affirmative decision. Such a meeting would have been attended by all the American States.

But the Meeting of Consultation that the Council decided to call in response to Costa Rica's request was of the second type. Fifteen republics had ratified at the time. Both Nicaragua and Costa Rica were excluded from voting. An absolute majority of the thirteen States entitled to vote would have been seven; but all thirteen voted in the affirmative.

Another interesting point is what authority the Council

has, as such, before it assumes the character of Provisional Organ of Consultation. Some maintain that the Council can make decisions in political matters only in its role of Provisional Organ of Consultation. But at Rio it was granted the essentially political function of deciding whether to convoke the Organ of Consultation. It can deny a request for a Meeting of Consultation, or it can grant it. There is only one set of circumstances in which the convocation of the Organ of Consultation becomes automatic, on the sole initiative of the Chairman of the Council. This is the case of "an armed attack within the territory of an American State or within the region of security delimited by treaties in force," i.e., the Treaty of Rio. This provision was not in the Treaty, but was added by the Bogotá Charter, which has not yet come into full force.

In the Costa Rican case, only the speed with which the Council moved kept the situation from becoming an international conflict. A few hours after the decision to call a Meeting of Consultation, a Commission had been appointed made up of four members of the Council—Quintanilla of Mexico, Bello of Brazil, Villegas of Colombia, and Daniels of the United States. The Commission flew to Costa Rica and was back with its report by Christmas Eve.

Nevertheless some observers, principally in the United States, and some Latin American newspapers, still felt that the procedure might prove too slow for a large-scale crisis. Modern warfare, they maintained, leaves no time for such negotiation. In acts of violence like those recently witnessed in Indonesia, even the shortest lapse of time may be decisive.

These criticisms were aimed at the Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance. But they were superficial. The Treaty offers realistic solutions for every type of emergency. Its application in the Costa Rican case is not so obvious as in some other situations. Here is a summary of the measures authorized by the Rio Treaty:

In the event of an armed attack against an American State, the Treaty provides that each of the contracting parties may decide for itself what to do immediately. The Organ of Consultation "shall meet without delay," says the Treaty, to examine these individual actions and to agree on necessary collective action.

In any other type of aggression, consultation is called by the same procedure used in the Costa Rican affair. The Organ of Consultation passes on the aggression and the measures to be taken. Should a conflict arise between two or more American States, the Organ of Consultation, may issue an "as you were!" order to the contending states and may also act as peacemaker.

In all cases, the Organ of Consultation may order: the recall of Ministers or Ambassadors; breaking of diplomatic relations; breaking of consular relations; total or partial interruption of economic relations; stoppage of communications and transportation; and use of armed force.

But the Costa Rican case represented a very different

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Caricature for AMÉRICAS by Antonio Arias Bernal



Monsieur le Directeur

JAIME TORRES BODET, new Director General of UNESCO, is a chunky, vigorous, 46-year-old Mexican who upsets all the popular conceptions about Latins.

In Torres' lexicon, *mañana* is right now. His speech of acceptance at Beirut on December 10 diplomatically poured cold water on UNESCO's overheated illusions. Torres told the delegates: "UNESCO is faced with various obstacles, one of which is especially dangerous: the infinite number of unworkable projects and academic schemes. . . . We must find our way out of the maze in which the theorists might wish to keep UNESCO indefinitely. We must . . . set to work without undue hesitation. . . . What the masses hope for from UNESCO is not fair promises . . . but tangible, immediate undertakings. . . ."

Torres' career is studded with tangible undertakings. As Secretary of Education, he lifted Mexico from near the bottom of Western Hemisphere literacy ratings into the top 25 per cent in one year's driving campaign. His method was typically simple and direct: if you could read and write, in 1945 you must teach someone else to read and write. A unique law made illiteracy a misdemeanor, and provided fines and prison for any literate person neglecting to teach an illiterate. Torres whipped up national enthusiasm through the press, and simple instruction books were printed and distributed in every corner of the country. The campaign was not perfect;

some people shirked the duties, and in some isolated spots the literates were far outnumbered by those who could not read. But the practical results were spectacular. In one year millions of illiterate Mexicans learned to read and write, and the cost to the Government was insignificant.

In the next change in the Mexican Cabinet, Torres got the more complicated job of Secretary of Foreign Affairs. As head of the Mexican delegation to the Rio Conference of 1947 and to the Bogotá Conference the following year, he proved as effective in international problems as in local ones.

As logical a choice as Torres was for his new job with UNESCO, his election last November 26 was a surprise. Mexico had not even nominated him for it. UNESCO's nominating committee had a lot of trouble agreeing on a successor to the British biologist, Julian Huxley. While still in Paris they began looking over the field. The discussions continued all the way across Europe, with secret sessions in Istanbul and more in Beirut. By the time they reached Beirut, the field had narrowed to Ramaswami Mudaliar of India, Ronald Walker of Australia, and Torres. The vote removed all doubts. Torres got thirty of the thirty-three ballots. Twelve of them were cast by New World delegates who had watched Torres in action at the Rio and Bogotá Conferences.

Told by cable of his new post, Torres resigned from the Cabinet and flew 7,900 miles to Lebanon. He took office soon after he arrived, and told the delegates he favored less talk and more action.

Comparing Torres with his predecessor, Dr. Huxley, is a favorite pastime with those who have seen both of them in office, not only because of the differences between the two men, but also because each typifies the popular notion of the other's national character. The direct, practical approach of the stocky and unexcitable Latin replaced the idealistic dreams of the wispy, nervous, and visionary Briton.

Huxley is primarily a scientist, and the list of his academic degrees is long. Despite Torres Bodet's intense interest in public education, his only degrees are those honorary ones which fall almost by the law of gravity upon cabinet ministers. Huxley, a former collaborator of H. G. (*The Shape of Things to Come*) Wells, has laid out a UNESCO program which covers every possible human need for this and any future century.

Torres, groping through this maze of all-embracing global projects, finds one here and another there which he feels can be put into effective operation. He will probably carry to conclusion only two or three of Huxley's ideas; but this will be enough to dispel the general impression that UNESCO is a noble experiment on the level of the archangels.

The basic difference between them is that for Huxley, the university has been his life; for Torres, life has been a university.

Finally, to contradict the contradictions, both men are poets. In this field, national character claims its own. The biologist Huxley had published a book temperately

called *The Captive Shrew and Other Poems*. Among Torres' poems are such ardent titles as *Corazón Delirante* (The Frenzied Heart), *Fervor*, and *Destierro* (Exile). Others are *Nuevas Canciones* (New Songs), *Poemas*, and *Biombo* (The Screen).

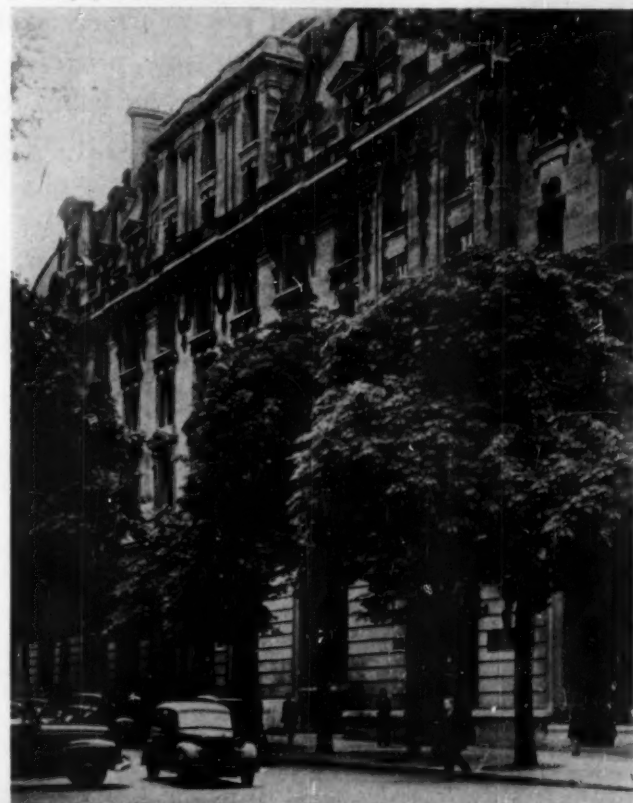
Aside from poetry, Huxley's writings have been mostly studies of birds and reptiles, and essays on the work of Charles Darwin. Torres, whose list of published works startled the UNESCO delegates, has written widely on problems of government and education. His prose style is characteristic of the man—flexible, spontaneous, and energetic.

Torres Bodet gives an impression of width and strength. He has a wide brow furrowed with deep horizontal lines, topped by heavy, wavy black hair. His deep-set, widely spaced dark eyes are shaded by level, heavy eyebrows. His prominent nose projects above broad lips which, serious in repose, stretch on occasion into a wide grin, displaying strong, well-shaped teeth. He stands like a man sure of his ground, erect, his heavy shoulders back to balance the outward thrust of his midriff. He speaks slowly and clearly, in a deep, well-modulated voice which carries easily in even a large auditorium. He seldom wastes words on trivialities, but an associate once said of him: "With that stance and that delivery, Don Jaime could recite a verse from Mother Goose and make it sound as important as a treaty."

Torres could hardly have avoided an international career. A descendant of Spanish and French forebears, his home life was completely bilingual. Typical of upper-class Latin American preparation, his schooling emphasized European culture and taught him early that another's point of view is not necessarily silly just because it is foreign. He chose a diplomatic career much

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Old Hotel Majestic, now headquarters of UN's Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization





The break at El Paso

BRACEROS



Typical "bracero" (Mexican contract worker), imported to lend a hand to U. S. farmers

WERE THERE ENOUGH FARM WORKERS in the United States to get in the bumper 1948 crops? Union leaders said yes. Farmers said no and asked for outside help. They had tried Mexican workers under a war-time program to meet the manpower shortage and liked the results well enough to want to go on using them. Under an agreement between the Mexican and U. S. Governments, signed on February 21, 1948, some 28,850 temporary Mexican contract workers were brought in.

In mid-October, requests were pending for more Mexicans to work in the sugar-beet fields of Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, and Utah, and the cotton fields of New Mexico, Arkansas, Louisiana, and other southern states. Previous contracting had been done in the Mexican cities of Tampico, Monterrey, Aguascalientes, Mexicali, and Guaymas. Farmers hoped to get most of the new lot from Juárez, just across the Rio Grande from El Paso, Texas. Their trucks waited on the U. S. side of the dusty concrete bridge to rush the men to their fields. Several thousand eager Mexican workers crowded about the immigration offices on their side of the river.

But there were bottlenecks. Shipments of workers through Reynosa, another border point, were halted after Mexican Consul Lauro Ysaguirre charged that Mexicans

en route to Arkansas farms were packed like cattle into trucks. Labor recruiters, claiming that transportation was normal, accused the consul of playing politics.

The crowning blow was struck at El Paso. The Mexican *braceros*, encouraged by U. S. farmers, began to cross the border on their own. On Wednesday night, October 13, bunches of them swarmed over railroad bridges or waded the Rio Grande, now shrunk to ankle depth. They were still pouring across three days later when District Immigration Director Grover C. Wilmoth dropped the official bars. As fast as the amphibious force hit the U. S. shore, the workers were checked in under technical arrest and paroled to the farmers, who whisked them away to the beet and cotton fields. Four to seven thousand were estimated to have come in during the five-day

spree. This included some border town residents entitled to cross the line, but not authorized for work in the interior.

Reaction was prompt and vigorous. Rafael de la Colina, Mexican Chargé d'Affaires in Washington (now Ambassador), was instructed to tell the State Department that his Government considered the pact ended by the U. S. officials' act and reserved the right to claim damages. The Mexican Foreign Ministry also charged that many of the illegal entrants were put to work in Texas, a state barred from the use of contract labor because of alleged discrimination.

Acting Secretary of State Lovett promised that the bars would not be dropped again and that illegal *braceros* would be returned to Mexico. Just where all the men were was none too clear. AFL Construction and Trades Councilman Frank D. Booth claimed that some were being used on construction jobs in El Paso at much less than union wages.

The incident brought the whole agreement up for review, with long negotiations looming in the path of a new accord. The circumstances dramatized the two basic issues behind both the contract labor program and the perennial border patrol problem: the yearning of many Mexicans for hard dollars to buy a better standard of living and the desire of well-organized U. S. farmers for a large, mobile and not-too-costly labor force. Don Larin of the U. S. Employment Service was quoted as calling a Mexican demand that the workers receive \$3.00 a hundred pounds for the first cotton-picking a "pistol pointed at the heads of the farmers." Mr. Wilmoth explained: "They needed work, our farmers needed them, and the crops were going to waste." Commander of the Juárez Military Zone General Enrique Díaz González was quoted as saying: "Not even with the whole Mexican army could I have held back the avalanche of workers seeking to leave the country."

Growers' spokesmen later blamed "Mexican insistence on doing nothing" in the face of what they called the dire crisis confronting the sugar beet planters. Immigration Commissioner Watson Miller remarked: "At one point I felt I could not surmount the problems within the terms of the agreement. If the hell I was catching on all sides kept up, I'd be down south picking cotton in self-defense." Mr. Wilmoth pointed out that in the October break the workers got better than the prevailing wages.

Washing up at the end of a day's work in the fields



The 1948 average for cotton picking up to November 1 was placed at \$2.90 per hundred pounds by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Rates were up everywhere except in California, where they were the same as 1947, and in Texas and New Mexico, where they went down ten cents. The national average was 25 cents above 1947 and 40 cents higher than 1946. But the Bureau reported that real farm wages, measured against the cost of living, had gone down for three years in a row.

With the pact dead, the door was shut against further Mexican labor, but the 30,000-odd men already legally in the United States could finish out their contract periods, perhaps be re-contracted.

Under the 1948 agreement, which took the place of the war-time labor agreement of 1942, work contracts were made directly between the grower or growers' organization and individual workers, with the "intervention of the governments" to assure compliance with certain standards. To import workers, the grower had to (1) obtain certification from the U. S. Employment Service that there was a local need for which domestic workers were not available at the prevailing wages, and (2) get the consent of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The employers were to post bond guaranteeing that the workers would leave the country when their contract was finished. U. S. authorities were to inform Mexican officials of the needs three months in advance. Mexico could limit the number of workers and the areas from which they could be taken.

No minimum wage was established. The contract workers were to be paid the same rates that local workers earned in the area. This figure was whatever the employers in a given area agreed upon among themselves. Mexicans were not to be employed to displace other workers or reduce wages.

The imported workers were guaranteed free, hygienic lodgings "of a type used by the domestic agricultural workers in the area." A farm union leader testified that "if anything, a foreign worker gets a better break than the U. S. worker on housing."

The employer and the Mexican consul could agree to terminate the contract at any time if the workers were no longer needed. The specified contract form called for a savings fund to be accumulated by withholding ten per cent of the wages, payable on the worker's return to Mexico.

Mexicans relieve labor shortage by harvesting beets in Stockton, California



Some of the workers' rights were more intangible. Article 6 stated that "... Mexican workers in the United States under this agreement shall not suffer discriminatory acts of any kind. For the purposes of this article the appropriate agencies of both governments shall cooperate." Under Article 15, the Mexican workers were to "enjoy as regards occupational diseases and accidents the same guarantees enjoyed by domestic agricultural workers under applicable state or federal legislation in the United States."

But there was no agency with actual power to enforce the obligations set forth in the agreement. U.S.E.S. was merely to "lend its good offices to the contracting parties with a view to obtaining full compliance . . ." If aware of his rights, the worker could appeal for these good offices directly or through the nearest Mexican consul. The Employment Service maintained a few liaison men in the field to smooth over misunderstandings between workers and employers, and the Mexican consuls were authorized to visit the farms, but neither were in a position to oversee the execution of the contracts or inspect working conditions on hundreds of farms scattered through many states.

Mexican workers had been admitted to the United States under private recruitment during and after World War I. While the Immigration Act of 1917 specifically forbade the admission of workers under contract, it provided for temporary admission. Unregulated recruitment and the lack of protection led to abuses and hardships. Mexican legislators wrote regulations on migration into the Labor Law of 1931.

In 1942, the draft and the call to war industries began to dry up U. S. migrant labor. The growers dependent on itinerant workers, who traveled from state to state and crop to crop, to bring in the cotton, sugar beet, citrus fruit, and vegetable harvests, were on the spot. The United States turned to Mexico, Jamaica, Canada, British Honduras, and other nearby lands for help.

Under the war-time program the workers came under direct contract to the U. S. Government. The agency in charge contracted with the farmers for their employment. The minimum wage was 30 cents an hour. Work was guaranteed for 75% of the contract period. Free housing and medical attention were provided, with the

government taking part in this work. Although the workers were to pay for their own food, the Mexican Government indicated a ceiling of \$1.50 a day on this item.

Between September 1942 and the end of 1947, a total of approximately 215,000 Mexicans were brought in. Still others were brought in under a different plan for industrial and railroad work.

If the need for extra hands in 1942 was due to the absorption of manpower by the war effort, why was there not enough farm labor again three years after V-J Day? To be sure, during the last 38 years the number of farm workers had declined, reaching its lowest point in 1945. But since production had steadily risen, Department of Agriculture statisticians attributed the decline in jobs to more machinery and greater efficiency rather than to shortage of men.

H. L. Mitchell, President of the National Farm Labor Union (AFL), said the Employment Service could find workers in the United States if it looked hard enough for them. He advertised in the *Southern Farmer* that the union would direct men to where help was wanted. He got 1,200 formal applications, far more than the union staff could handle.

Was the 1948 need being fairly determined? R. W. Oberlin of the Employment Service admitted to a staff hearing of the Senate Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization that the growers put pressure on local employment officers to certify the need for imported help. But he maintained that review of each case by the central office and the Immigration Service was a guarantee against importing too many men.

Growers asked for approximately 108,000 workers under the 1948 agreement. The Employment Service authorized 96,323 (including re-contracting of some workers already in the country). But only 28,851 new men were actually brought in during the period.

In November the Employment Service reported: "Many prospective employers requested workers far in excess of actual needs . . . Too great significance should not be attached to the total figure on certifications for foreign labor. . . . The actual number of entrants represents a truer picture of labor shortages. This would seem a reasonable conclusion in view of the fact that there have been no serious crop losses or waste because of insufficient domestic labor."

Including Puerto Ricans, British West Indians, and Canadians, all brought in without special international agreements, and the Mexicans, the "foreign" workers imported by November 1 still numbered less than 45,000. This is a tiny percentage of the total U. S. farm working force of about 12,000,000.

Employers made much of the reluctance of Anglo-Saxons to do "stoop labor." But if they were willing to bid competitively they might find all the U. S. help they wanted.

Border Trends, published by the Unitarian Service Committee, commented: "If the law of supply and demand is satisfactory to regulate consumer prices it is also a tenable system in the operation of the labor market.

Below, left: Farm hand sets up guide poles for hop vines. Right: Cecilio Castaneda of Guanajuato at work on a California farm



... The farmers want to have their cake and eat it too."

An Employment Service official said that a wage raise would not produce the needed manpower. Neither would unemployment in the cities solve the farmers' problem. "You can't make cotton pickers out of bookkeepers," he remarked.

With the violent death of the 1948 agreement, a new one would be reached on a diplomatic level between the two governments. Interested parties were quick to urge their ideas on government officials. The growers objected to paying transportation for workers from recruiting centers located far below the border. Also, they wanted to avoid being bound to a minimum wage set by Mexico. A 3-man team representing the State Department, the Employment Service, and Immigration Service made a special trip to St. Louis, Denver, and San Francisco in late November to hear the employers' views.

These were reported at the meeting of the Employment Service's Farm Labor Advisory Committee in Washington in December. The committee is composed mainly of growers' spokesmen named by each state. The planters did not like the 1948 program, especially such delays as they met at El Paso. They did not want to grant additional health or accident benefits. They objected to the 3-month minimum. They did want representatives in any new negotiations with foreign countries or outlying U. S. territories. Some of them came up with a proposal that the Mexican workers be admitted on border-crossing cards without any agreement at all. Both State Department and Immigration Service said "No!" firmly, and the planters backed down.

Meantime, the labor unions were working on still another point of view. In Nuevo Laredo in October the National Farm Labor Union and the Mexican Federación Proletaria Nacional agreed to ask their respective governments for a long list of amendments that would make any farmer think twice before asking for imported help.

Among the things they demanded were: (a) payment of 3 months' wages plus wages due for the rest of the contract period in the event of contract cancellation by the employer or by *force majeure*; (b) recognition of the right of U. S. trade unions to represent the workers; (c) a wage guarantee for 100% of the contract period; (d) a trade union voice in determining the need for importing men and in setting minimum wages; (e) prohibition of company stores; and (f) paid vacations.

The two unions called for an end to discrimination against Mexicans and asked for equal employment conditions for all. The Mexican union agreed to set up an organization for workers contracting for U. S. jobs, and the U. S. union agreed to treat those affiliated with the Mexican federation as regular members. The Farm Union also called for a law making it a felony to employ or harbor foreign workers illegally in the country.

Farm Union leader Mitchell presented these demands at the Washington conference and asked that Puerto Ricans (U. S. citizens) be used before any alien help. Employment Service Director Robert C. Goodwin had suggested Puerto Rico and the British West Indies as pos-

sible alternative sources of additional labor, though at high cost for Western areas. Growers were not enthusiastic.

Native U. S. migrants have traditionally had a cold welcome in the communities where they work. It is even harder for a foreigner to fit into community activities. The "wetbacks," of whom thousands sneak across the Rio Grande every harvest season evading the small border patrol, are even worse off than the legal immigrants. If illtreated or underpaid, they cannot call on the authorities for help.

Treatment of the legal migrants is a hotly disputed point. In December, AMÉRICAS asked Dr. Stewart Cole, Executive Director of the Pacific Coast Council on Intercultural Education, to survey the situation in California.

Visits to seven large camps of citrus growers in Orange and Ventura Counties showed varying living conditions and a number of pet peeves. But both the Mexican workers and the employers were in general pleased.

The best housing conditions were found at Cucamonga, where a former CCC camp in the midst of a beautiful orange grove is the men's home. The buildings are well kept and the kitchen spotless. The plain bunk houses, equipped with army cots, are cared for by the men themselves. A 4-table pool hall, camp radio, and baseball diamond provide relaxation. Some Mexican-Americans and Navajo Indians share the camp with the Mexican nationals, and there is a public school on the grounds for their children.

At the bottom of the scale was a weather-beaten Ventura County camp squatting back of an oil refinery on a desolate dry river basin. Two new bunk houses have been built here, however, and improvements in the mess hall and kitchen are promised.

Clean and well-stocked kitchens were the rule—but, as in any army, there were complaints about the chow: "I can't stand this *yanqui* food: give me my tamales and enchiladas." "Mexican food is better and makes me feel better." Chefs learned the hard way to give the men the dishes they were used to. One camp had such a bad reputation for food and treatment that workers moved away as soon as they could.

Four of the Ventura camps have contracted with a local restaurant to handle all meals. Managers inexperienced in the food trade had failed to make a go of the kitchen department. For a standard charge of \$1.75 a day per worker, the caterer gives the men all they want to eat and still makes a fair income.

The personality and methods of the farm manager are the crux of grower-worker relations. Thus managers' roughness or lack of understanding of the Mexicans was behind most cases of dissatisfaction among the workers. Dr. R. J. Carreon, who grows dates near Indio, reported that Mexican nationals working for Mexican-Americans there fared better than those on other farms because their own language was used and they were better understood.

Homesickness and unsuitability for the work contribute to a 20% A.W.O.L. rate among Mexican contract workers

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Worshipping an ancient idol near Chichicastenango. Despite four centuries of Christianity, Mayan gods are not forgotten

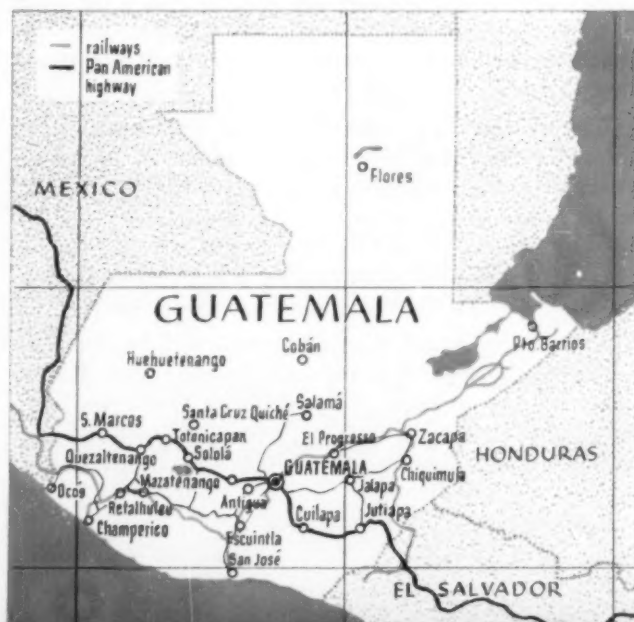
TRAVELER'S PARADISE GUATEMALA

GUATEMALA, a dramatic and beautiful land where the geography stands on edge, is the most populous and one of the most prosperous of all the Central American countries. Its 3,500,000 people live peacefully amid scenery of eye-popping grandeur, in spotless centuries-old cities, or in remote villages tucked into the crevices of skyscraping mountain ranges.

Unlike some less fortunate countries whose beauties are hidden from all but the hardest explorer, Guatemala has good all-weather roads which reach nearly every corner of the land.

The country is on the southern border of Mexico. From the United States, it is the nearest and most accessible land in Central America. Guatemala City is only six hours' flight from New Orleans, five hours from Miami, or less than four from Mexico City.

For those who have more time, a number of steamship lines run from New Orleans and New York to Puerto Barrios, on the Caribbean. And those with pioneer blood and a jeep can get to Guatemala on the Inter-American Highway. From the U. S. border south to the Isthmus of Tehuantepec is a long but fairly easy drive. About halfway down the Isthmus, some 200 miles from Guate-



mala, the highway route loops up into the rough hills of Chiapas. This final section is not yet complete. It is strictly jeep travel, and that only in dry weather.

Guatemala's steady prosperity is based on big exports of highland coffee and bananas from the Caribbean lowlands. Sugar cane comes from the *haciendas* of the Pacific coast, and much of the world's supply of chicle, the raw material of chewing gum, is bled from the towering sapodilla trees of the jungles of Petén. A small amount of rare and precious woods, such as greenheart,



Guatemalans raise tobacco near Lake Amatitlán

mahogany, and *lignum vitae*, is shipped from the Caribbean ports, but this potential wealth is hardly touched. In the eastern part of the country, gold and silver are mined.

Guatemala City, of 350,000 people, is one of the cleanest cities in the Americas. It lies in a lovely valley 5,000 feet above the sea, and is a tantalizing mixture of ancient and modern, of colonial tradition and soda fountains. Its up-to-date hotels and shops contrast with the teeming market where smiling Indian craftsmen sell textiles, pottery figures, and leather work whose basic designs have not changed for centuries.

The capital's newest sight is the tremendous new Government Palace, completed by President General Jorge Ubico in 1943. General Ubico, noted among other things for building roads and radio networks, planned the new palace as his crowning achievement. Ironically, he had occupied it only a few months when his government fell.

But Guatemala's greatest sights are not in the capital. An hour's drive south brings one to the beautiful resort country of Lake Amatitlán, where the country's wealthiest families keep palatial homes on the green heights above the lake.

The most popular drive from the capital is westward toward the highlands. For an hour the road winds among the hills, dropping to the ruined magnificence of Antigua where the Spaniards established their first capital in the shadow of the towering volcanos named Fire and Water. With fire and boiling water the explosive peaks levelled



Small fry from Quezaltenango

the city twice within a few years. The Spaniards never rebuilt, but moved their capital to the quieter valley across the hills. But the volcanos were satisfied; the 400-year-old arches and massive columns of the great monastery, and the cracked, roofless walls of the churches still stand, the grass thick and green in their cloisters. Later generations lost their fear of the volcanos, and built a bustling city around the great ruins. Probably more North American artists, writers, and happy



Dance of the Giants at Jocotenango's annual Assumption Fiesta

expatriates live in Antigua than in any other Central American city.

From Antigua the road winds upward again. This is Indian country. The black ribbon of asphalt twisting ahead of the car is the only reminder of the twentieth century. Along the edge of the right of way jog stocky, copper-faced men and women in the bright costume of the Quichés, great loads of pottery, bird cages, or other merchandise held on their backs by a rawhide band across the forehead. When the conquistador Alvarado first saw the Quichés, they wore the same brilliant dress one sees today, and even then they trotted across the mountains with their burdens.

Guatemala has gone far toward solving its "Indian

National Palace on Plaza de Armas is capital showpiece



Sixth Avenue, Guatemala City's main shopping street

problem" by simply concentrating on education and public health, and leaving the tribal customs alone. Every mountain village has its own traditional costume for men and women. At the great highland market places one can instantly tell whether a family comes from Patzicia, or Sololá, or from Santa Cruz Quiché. Even the Army, notably insensitive to traditions other than its own, in Guatemala forms regiments according to the regional origins of the conscripts, and allows the troops to wear their tribal costumes instead of uniforms.

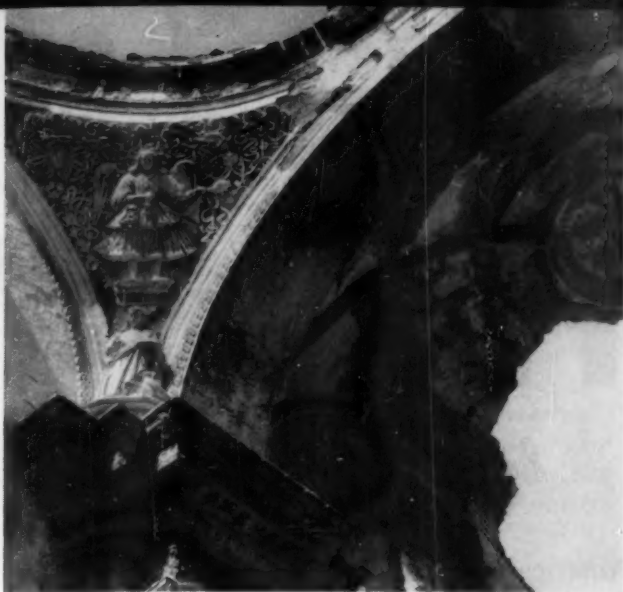
This is the region of the quetzal, the tiny, crested, iridescent bird which symbolizes the national passion for liberty. The quetzal will not live in captivity.

Beyond Chimaltenango and Patzún lies Atitlán, a deep, blue, many-fingered lake held 8,000 feet high in a cup of the mountains. From its center a volcano peak stabs at the vivid sky, and around its steep banks Indian villages cluster. Almost unknown outside Guatemala fifteen years ago, Atitlán's beauty is now world-famous.

The main plaza at Chichicastenango is another never-to-be-forgotten sight. The square seethes with activity, brilliant with the barbaric splendor of the traders' costumes. In the background, the white bulk of the church rises remote above its great flight of steps. Up these move brightly dressed figures, made tiny by distance,

Christ with Cross, baroque figure in La Merced church, Antigua





Antigua's cathedral ruins still show signs of former splendor

clouds of smoke arising from the swinging pots of burning incense they carry.

The Mayan Inn at Chichicastenango is a good spot to end a strenuous day's drive. It is a product of the past dozen years, a modern hotel offering all the comforts with which the traveler likes to pamper his jaded bones. At dinner, the mellow ripple of a marimba echoes softly from the patio. The marimba is native to the Guatemalan highlands, and there is almost no hour of the day or night when, if one listens, the gentle harmony cannot be heard, often from far away.

Guatemala's 48,000 square miles (about the size of New York State) spread over a greater variety of landscape than many larger countries can boast. From the low, fertile Pacific coast one can see the ragged wall of mountains broken by the towering peaks of volcanos. In the 200 miles of the coastal range from border to border, more than a score of these 10,000 and 12,000-foot giants stand cold and dead, or send up columns of smoke from their banked fires.

North of the coastal range, a great valley curves north and east, giving access from the capital to the low, hot banana country around the Caribbean port of Barrios. Farther north, other ranges writhe across the earth until the land drops to the vast, forest-covered plain of El

Gourd marimbas' soft music is heard everywhere in Guatemala



Chicle gatherers crossing Lake Petén in their dugout cayuco

Petén, a region which might be from another geologic age. Deer, monkeys, jaguar, ocelot, coatimundi, and other tropical animals roam the leafy wilderness, and brilliant birds live in the tree-top world a hundred feet above the jungle floor. There is little human life in the Petén. A few rubber tappers and chicle hunters move quietly through the forest. Here and there thatched villages of shy brown folk huddle in clearings on the banks of watercourses. Flores, the provincial capital, is an island town, surrounded by the wide waters of Lake Petén.

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Momostenango market, famous for woolen blankets and textiles



WHAT'S BEHIND OUR

REVOLUTIONS ?

by Germán Arciniegas

WHEN U. S. newspapers mention one of the Latin American republics, it is usually in connection with an attempted or successful revolution. Is there something in the complicated racial make-up of those peoples or in their geography that inevitably leads to disorder and revolt?

From the very first day of independence, Latin America's political life was an unstable one. The civil wars of the last century established what is very nearly a tradition of anarchy. But why was this the pattern in the south, while north of the Rio Grande problems were settled with the success that has made the United States first among the world powers?

Students of this fact often place too much emphasis on the racial combinations which make up the Latin American countries, or on whether the population lived in the Andes, on the seacoast, or in the jungles. This ignores the historical process, which is fundamental. The fact is that the two peoples, north and south, came into being and developed under the same democratic love of liberty. But from the very first they moved in opposite directions.

In Latin America, conquest came first. In a matter of thirty years—from 1513, when Balboa discovered the Pacific Ocean, to 1548, when Alonso de Mendoza founded La Paz on the highest plateau of the Andes—Spaniards and Portuguese overran three quarters of the American world. Next came the colonial period, which lasted more than two and a half centuries. Then the wars of inde-

pendence, in which victory created for the victors the problems of self-government.

In the United States, things happened in reverse order. Here the colonial period came first, and the inhabitants governed themselves almost from the beginning. There were little more than one hundred fifty years of colonial life—the *Mayflower* anchored in Plymouth harbor in 1620 and the Declaration of Independence was signed in 1776. Once the colonies were separated from England, they put into operation on their own, principles of government they had been practicing for some time. The conquest was put off, to be accomplished a hundred years later.

The three hundred years between the Spanish conquest and the winning of the West by the North Americans gave the Pilgrims and their descendants time to establish a civilization in the thirteen English colonies. This fact affected the whole historical process in the North. The Spanish conquest resembles a mediaeval museum piece. It was accomplished with lances, swords, and bucklers, with coats of mail and heavy armor, with greater trust in St. James the Apostle than in arms. To keep the advantage horses gave them over the awe-struck Indians, the Spaniards had to lift the struggling animals in rattan baskets up the precipices of the Andes. One of the most effective arms—decisive in the conquest of Darién and in many other places—was dogs, which bit the Indians to death. These are pictures from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which seem more like cartoons for Gobelin tapestries than stills from a motion picture.

The Pacific coast was explored, and the conquistadors proceeded to the conquest of Peru in vessels made by carpenters who knew nothing of shipbuilding. These were built in shipyards improvised in the wilderness, on the banks of rivers. They made sails from scraps of shirts, ironwork and cordage from heaven knows what.

By contrast, the conquest in the North, postponed until the middle of the nineteenth century, had the help of the steam engine and several other modern inventions. The gold rush to California started thirteen years after Samuel Colt had invented the pistol that made his name



Conquistadors under Francisco Pizarro capture Emperor Atahualpa in Cajamarca, Peru, 1533

famous. To get to California or to Montana, people went on wheels. Instead of struggling over the nearly impassable Andes, the emigrants' covered wagons stampeded across the plains west of the Mississippi. Even before those who went by prairie schooner could get there, California's new El Dorado was reached by those who embarked in New Orleans in steamboats, crossed the isthmus of Panama by land, and took passage on the first line of steamers to ply the Pacific coast.

Washington, in all his warfare, never reached the right bank of the Mississippi. Bolivar and San Martín, on the other hand, had to play their roles on a stage that, from Atlantic to Pacific, from the Caribbean to the southern tip of South America, extended over both sides of the Andes. In winning the independence of Spanish America, as in its conquest, everything was done on an unprecedented scale. In North America during the colonial period as well as in the winning of the West, there was a central, compact core from which mass migration set out, leaving no vacuum behind. It was the frontier that moved: not the bridgeheads, not the lance tips. In Spanish or Portuguese America, the first ambitious strides in each historic period were born of extraordinary enthusiasm stimulated by such words as "honor" and "glory." The soldier of the conquest dragged himself over mountain passes that he knew would lead to death, because he was not going to have any one questioning his honor. In the same way, the liberator in the war of independence cherished his glory.

The speed of the Spanish and Portuguese conquest changed, first of all, the color of the family. The family—except perhaps in the case of gypsies or nomadic tribes, which have attained no higher culture than can be produced under canvas—is the fruit of repose. The Pilgrims of the *Mayflower* sailed from Plymouth—and they were the prototype of all who followed—without cutting family ties. Of the hundred who came on that ship, twenty-eight were children. During the voyage two more were born. They crossed the Atlantic to found a colony, not to undertake a conquest. And women's skirts were no hindrance whatever to the development of the program. Today North American writers note with unconcealed surprise how those families begot dozens of children, as many as were biologically possible.

For a Quesada, a Cortés, a Valdivia, an Irala, a Ponce de León, an Hernando de Soto, it was unthinkable to set out except at the front of masculine armies. Occasionally a bold woman accompanied the captain, sometimes one of those Indian women who for love opened the way among peoples of alien tongue. She was just one more soldier. None of the warriors brought his wife from Spain to these enterprises. And when the armies halted in Mexico or in Cuzco, or wherever else, love, obeying the simple laws of nature, went on joining white and red.

In the North, the Danes, the English, or the Germans of the thirteen colonies had no reason for having anything to do with native women. As their settlements grew, they pushed the Indians farther west until the red man's back was against the wall. There has been much talk of Spanish cruelty, and there has been too much ado



The Spanish conquest opens. Old engraving of Vasco Núñez de Balboa claiming the Pacific for Spain in 1513



The United States pushes westward: troops of the young Republic attacking an Indian settlement



First aerial attack in the Americas. Indians stone the Spaniards at Río Atrato, Colombia



End of an empire: execution of the Inca Atahualpa by the Spaniards. After a painting by Chappel

about the extermination of the native races by the conquistadors, taking the theme from the impassioned plea by Fray Bartolomé de las Casas. That cruelty is undeniable, but it should be considered not so much Spanish, as the legacy of an epoch: the Middle Ages. But the final fact is that in Spanish America many millions of Indians remained alive, as is plainly evident now. The extension of the conquest from Mexico to Chile would have been impossible without the collaboration of the aborigines. In the thirteen colonies in the North the opposite occurred, and only a few native specimens survived to be anthropological studies or to satisfy tourist curiosity.

In a book on the development of the United States¹ I read recently: "In a century and a half, the Americans colonized effectively an area of about 200,000 square miles, more than twice the size of Great Britain." The author underlines this as a remarkable fact, which indeed it is. But it is a fact that impresses the Latin American reader as a drop in the bucket. Chile alone, which is one of the smallest nations of Latin America, has 286,000 square miles. In thirty years during the sixteenth century, Spaniards and Portuguese raised the flags of their kings over lands three times as large as all the Old World.

Bernal Díaz del Castillo described Hernán Cortés in a phrase that might be applied to all the conquistadors: "He had a heart that did not rest." Prescott's judgment of him was similar: "He was," he said, "a knight errant." But what word, then, should we use for Hernando de Soto, who after taking part in the entire conquest of Peru, came to the banks of the Mississippi to meet his death? Or for Alvear Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, who after a ten-year odyssey from Florida to Mexico, leaving his bloody footprints on the vast amphitheater of territory that overlooks the Gulf, returned to Spain to be made the governor of Paraguay and the Río de la Plata, beginning anew the story of his misfortunes? Or for Jiménez de Quesada, who at eighty, after he had founded in his middle age the New Kingdom of Granada, still led his armies, though he had to be carried on the backs of Indians because he no longer had the strength to mount a horse? Or for the fighting friar Don Bartolomé de las Casas, who crossed the ocean fourteen times, and at ninety still fought spiritual battles and wrote volumes in defense of his humanitarian principles?

¹ *The American Experience*, by Henry Bamford Parkes

Easy-going life in Pernambuco, from a lithograph by Engelman. Portuguese colonization of Brazil was relatively placid



U. S. colonials rebel at taxation without representation at the Boston Tea Party, 1773

During those thirty years the conquistadors explored rivers that are among the greatest in the world, the Amazon, the Orinoco, the Magdalena, the Plata, and a good part of the Mississippi. They discovered the Pacific Ocean. They founded the capital cities of Mexico, Panama, Guatemala, La Paz, Lima, Quito, Buenos Aires, Bogotá, Asunción del Paraguay, Santiago de Chile—some on the Atlantic, others on the Pacific, some at sea level, others at altitudes up to twelve thousand feet. They subdued native empires and savage tribes. They bore the image of Christ first across an uncharted ocean and later through lands of a world several times greater than the one that fifteen centuries before had been traversed by the most ardent of Christ's apostles.

Even the cities traveled; they moved from one site to another; they were born and reborn. The kings issued grants to pacify adventurers, to reestablish families, to keep the genealogical trees uncontaminated, to maintain the prestige of white or blue blood. On the human side of the New World experiment, all that was of no avail. The soldiers rose against their captains, and with their wind-whipped banners of rebellion cried: "Long live the King!" The friars fought against the enslavement of the Indians, but the conquistadors divided them among themselves, and castes of servants and masters were formed.

The process was less violent in Brazil, and this was duly reflected in its history. Penetration into the interior was postponed until the eighteenth century, but from 1535, when Olinda was established, until the founding of Rio de Janeiro twenty years later, there was a series of conquests indicative of the destiny of the future colony. Portugal was more of a seafaring nation than Spain. The Portuguese took pleasure in founding ports. Bahia, Santos, Vitória, and Recife rose during those twenty years, and there, too, the family and the social strata followed the same course as in the Spanish conquest.

By contrast, the master-and-servant set-up had little chance to develop in North America. The thirteen original colonies of the North had an all-white population, and there was a leveling into a single social category. Those who came as servants sold their services for a few years. Later, when their contracts were fulfilled and if they were still alive, they were considered the equals of the rest, had the same opportunities, became owners of the same lands. As a matter of fact, from the very first day, everyone seized his axe and cut wood, washed kettles, made beds, baited fishhooks, hunted wild animals. Equality was

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San Carlos Hospital in Bogotá, gift of the silent benefactor to Colombia's tubercular poor

DON GUSTAVO'S ANSWER

WHEN GROUPS OF *bogotanos* gather in the Colombian capital's *cafetines* to sip their inevitable little cups of black coffee, they talk of many things. No angle of politics, no literary work, no government decree, escapes notice. Nor does a prominent figure, and wealthy Gustavo Restrepo Mejía was no exception. Year after year, whenever a good joke was called for, someone told the latest about Bogotá's famed "pinchpenny."

Don Gustavo and his brothers, Ernesto and David, inherited a huge fortune from their parents. Instead of frittering it away as some rich men's sons do, they spent their lives adding to it. Primarily merchants, they branched out into real estate, banking, and insurance. Usually they worked together. Always they showed a profit.

Even more than his brothers, Gustavo was a genius as a businessman. Once, in the early twenties, he bought a piece of property at a price so exorbitant that it set tongues wagging again. Before long, however, a building boom was in full swing and the value of the property went up and up. A speculator offered Don Gustavo a price that would have netted him \$100,000. His terse refusal was typical. "I don't sell—I buy!" he said. He lived to see the value of the land soar far beyond the offer.

In spite of their money, the Restrepos lived modestly—even frugally. None of their pesos ever swelled the pockets of liquor dealers or gambling house owners. Few of them were spent on entertaining.

Tall, handsome Gustavo made many a feminine heart beat faster, but he never married. Those who knew him say he was affable enough and even charming on occasion, but he usually liked to keep to himself. He consistently ignored the countless gibes about him, but his friends think he knew for a long time how he would answer Bogotá's wits.

The brothers spent their last years in Europe, living as quietly as they had in Bogotá. Four or five years before he died, Don Gustavo sat down to write his will. When it was read, after his death in Paris in the summer of 1940, there was his answer. He had left 10,556,000 pesos in stocks and property (about \$5,278,000 U. S.)—the bulk of his fortune—for a lavish sanitarium for the tubercular poor of Colombia.

Don Gustavo wanted his sanitarium to be the best that money could buy. The builders have done their work well. On the broad savanna south of Bogotá stands the streamlined San Carlos Hospital. In a country where tuberculosis is one of the principal killers, it answers a crying need.

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"Saint Raphael," artist unknown, 19th century Guatemala



"Christ and St. Joseph" represents mid-18th century Cuzco school



"Virgin of Pomata," from colonial Peru

Colonial Religious Painting

José Gómez Sicre

Portrait of Mother María Antonia de Rivera, by an unknown painter of the 18th century Mexican school



PRIESTS AND SOLDIERS in almost equal numbers shared in Spain's conquest of the New World, by force of arms and the power of a new faith. Art records few of their fortresses and battles, and only a handful of allusions to American scenes appear in the Spaniards' drawings or watercolors. Religious art, on the other hand, makes up the largest and most mature segment of early artistic effort in America during the colonial period.

At first, churches and convents imported works of art from Europe. Later they brought over the artists. Through the years, they trained native craftsmen, who in turn added a new manner of expression—more passionate, fiercer, more decorative, more profound. The local artists exerted an influence of their own on the European currents dominant in their area. The result was a subtly cross-bred art which developed definite regional styles.

Political, economic, and social factors combined to produce a concentration of religious art in certain cities. Emphasizing their own characteristics, these centers of activity became the artistic focal points for the surrounding territories, and in time came to merit the title of schools. Except for Brazil, which grew up under a different culture, the principal centers of Latin America's religious painting were Quito, Ecuador; Cuzco, Peru; Mexico City; and Bogotá, Colombia.

Professional artists and skilled craftsmen were not the only ones working under the inspiration of a common

idea. Sparks leaping from their centers of feverish artistic activity—sometimes strong and bright, sometimes feeble—were kindled by men in the street. These amateurs were self-taught artists. On a lesser scale, they served more modest believers.

Thus at moderate prices itinerant painters and minor craftsmen provided Catholics of limited means with little statues for their altars, small paintings for their bedrooms, and delightful votive or gratitude pieces commemorating an important event in the devotee's life to hang on the church wall. While this aspect of Latin American religious art has not been rich in masterpieces, it has been the most persistent of all the religious schools stemming from the colonial era.

Every event in which fate took a hand on the side of the believer was graphically told in paint on a small piece of metal or wood. Then it was hung in the church, generally on the transept wall or near the sacristy, as a token of thanks for the saint's timely help. A man set upon by thieves prays as he is attacked and beaten: Upon recovery, he orders a graphic testimonial of his gratitude for the miraculous return to health. A grave sickness cured, a difficult surgical operation successfully performed, even the return of a wandering husband have provided subjects for this sort of painting.

In accounts like these, frequently set down with the fidelity of a notary, there are little personal histories of the fears, sorrows, and faith of our people. From the point of view of art, they show extraordinary achievement in form, in treatment of space, in wealth of descriptive detail, in brilliant and boldly placed color. These paintings are spontaneous and emotional derivations of the great works of the Mexico City, Cuzco, or Quito schools on a smaller scale.

To underline these two diverse expressions of the same currents, a loan exhibition of Latin American religious art was held at the Pan American Union in December. The show included works carefully executed by painters of refined technique for the great baroque altars, together with rough paintings done by amateurs on order.

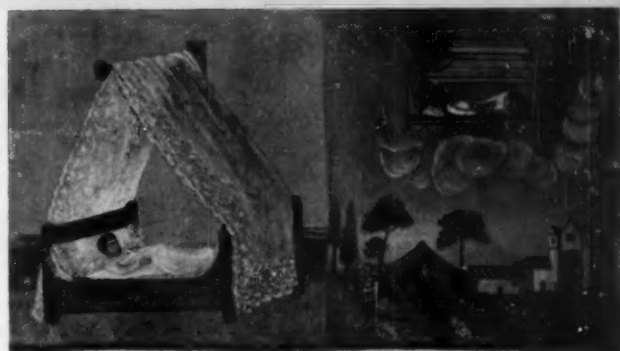
A delicate Madonna by Quito's Father Pedro Bedón (1556-?) was displayed with some primitive Venezuelan paintings executed without thought of technique, gathered in the Andean region and presumably dating from the eighteenth century. The richly ornamented paintings of the Cuzco school alternated with thank offerings done on tin and found in a church of Antigua, former capital of Guatemala. The technical mastery displayed by an anonymous Mexican painter of the mid-eighteenth century in the "Portrait of Mother María Antonia de Rivera" contrasted sharply with a crude "Descent from the Cross" from the same country.

Works of nineteenth-century Ecuador and Guatemala also appeared in this show. Their more academic style opposed the majestic force and elaborate paintings of the Cuzco school.

The 23 religious paintings exhibited in the Pan American Union show, some of them reproduced on these pages, are significant examples of Latin America's contribution to the great currents of world painting.



"The Christ Child as
Apprentice Carpenter,"
Cuzco, 17th century



El día 21 de Diciembre del año de 1891 a las once y media de la noche en un centro céntrico de las Montañas de Jucutzingo fui atacado por dos indios que me causaron graves heridas mortales y moribundo me trasladé a mi casa donde he cumplido la plenitud de mi existencia digna del Señor de San Felipe, que a maravilla de la salud después de una terrible agonía y gran tortura como a continuación se describe: Constanza María de M.

Primitive 19th century votive piece from Antigua, Guatemala, gives thanks for miraculous recovery from beating by thugs



Classic Virgin painted by Fray Pedro Bedón of Ecuador (1556-?)

Accent ON YOUTH

IS WORLD GOVERNMENT POSSIBLE?*

BECAUSE the young people of the continent may have to help make the final decision on whether we're to fight it out or talk it out, we invited students in a number of countries to send us their views on the possibility of setting up a world government. If you think it is possible, we asked them, how soon could such a government come into being? What powers should it have? Should it be created inside or outside the UN? Which nations should start the ball rolling? What can the Americas do as a group?

If you do *not* believe it is possible, what do you feel are the insurmountable obstacles—national sovereignty? Language? Diverse cultures? Different political beliefs? Inequalities in wealth and power? If we cannot achieve world government, how can we strengthen the UN? Here are some observations from the prize-winning replies:

SOME DAY, PERHAPS

"I believe we will eventually come to world government," writes 22-year old José Ramón Hernández of the Dominican Republic, "but many years must pass, centuries perhaps . . ." A doctor's son, José is a fourth-year law student at the University of Santo Domingo in Ciudad Trujillo. On the side, he works at a part-time job. José hopes to win a scholarship for graduate work in the U. S. A. or France, either in economics or in diplomatic and consular law.



. . . Ever since man first began to concern himself with social problems, he has reserved a special corner of his mind for this idea . . . From Plato to Thomas More and St. Augustine, a whole army of great thinkers spent many hours of their precious time on it . . . Philosophers opposing the idea have ranged from in-offensive contemplative thinkers and supporters of *laissez faire* policies to anarchists who considered the elimination of government as man's supreme goal.

In practice as well as in the realm of philosophy, many have won honors defending ideals of unification. Remember the great conquerors, such as Rameses II, Genghis Khan, and Hannibal. And what about the Caesars, Charlemagne, and Napoleon? The deeds of

these men prove that they wanted to give one government to the world; and their respective failures prove that the rule of force will never keep a world government alive.

. . . At present, it seems to me, the mission of man, of nations, and of international organizations, is to eliminate gradually all the obstacles in the way of world government. We must conquer distances by improving communications; ignorance, by spreading knowledge of the languages, customs, laws, and other characteristics of the various peoples of the world; and poverty, by coordinating nations' economies through over-all planning.

OF COURSE NOT

"I do not believe in world government," says Remigio González of Panama City, who thinks the obstacles are too great. Eighteen-year-old Remigio is a student at the Pan American Institute of Panama in Panama City and plans to enter a United States college next fall. He is busy sending for catalogues and trying to decide which college to choose. Remigio has two brothers, and his father is a businessman.



**All college and high school students among our readers are invited to submit their opinions on the subject: "Should there be any limit on jobs open to women in business and government?" Letters must not exceed 500 words and should reach us by March 25, 1949, addressed to Miss Mary G. Reynolds, Editorial Division, Pan American Union, Washington 6, D. C. Selections from the best letters will be published, and the authors will receive free, one-year subscriptions to AMERICAS.*

Napoleon tried to unite Europe by force and Bolívar tried to unite the Americas by the free consent of the various nations, but both failed. I do not believe in world government.

Ireland is breaking away from the United Kingdom because it does not want to be subjected to the British Crown. It wants sovereignty. And that is what every nation wants and fights for. The culture of Eastern Europe differs from that of Western Europe, although they are on the same continent. The culture of northern Spain differs from that of the southern part. . . . You see, even within the borders of a country the culture differs; and this problem is magnified when all countries of the world are considered.

But the greatest problem of all is the variance in political beliefs. Democratic and communistic beliefs in particular can never be reconciled because in many respects they are diametrically opposed. . . . This dispute would never end, so there could not be a government on which the two groups would agree.

WELL, MAYBE

Jorge Gallardo, also of Panama City, is more optimistic. "This chaotic period is doubtless one of transition," he says. "World government must be our ultimate goal and the United Nations is our tool for achieving it." When he graduates from the University of Panama (where he is studying public administration), Jorge plans to work for the "economic liberty" of his country. Twenty years old, he is the eldest of six children. His father is a carpenter.



Human thought is passing through the greatest crisis in history. . . . The various phases and forms of this crisis revolve around two political and economic ideologies—one, communism, directed by the Cominform; the other, Wall Street capitalism.

Under present circumstances, there are two possible solutions: the decisive victory of one of these forces, or the modification of both until a synthesis is attained. Only in the latter event will the creation of a firm, stable, and democratic world government be possible. For the cause of the world's confused state is not disagreement between nations as such (this is a result), but the continuing struggle between two conflicting ideologies. . . . This is the main reason for the United Nations' failure; and the veto power dealt the final blow. . . . This power should be abolished or restricted. . . . And to enforce its decisions, the UN must have an armed force, made up of volunteers from all nations.

And Latin America? Because of their common ties, the nations south of the Rio Grande must play an important part in crystallizing the ideal of international government. . . . These countries must begin by giving themselves really democratic governments; and there must be effective economic and political cooperation among them so that they can free themselves from the cobweb of ambitious outside interests.

NOT YET

Fifteen-year-old Hugh Schwartzberg, a senior at Senn High School in Chicago, Illinois, also feels that our first task is to strengthen the United Nations. Hugh has his sights trained on the University of Michigan for next fall. He writes that he is currently trying to make up his mind whether to follow in his father's footsteps and become a lawyer, or to specialize in psychology and psychiatry.



A world in which suspicion and fear congregate in the corridors of international meetings is not prepared to enter into world government. No nation in the world today is officially in favor of world government. Each country, deluded by false beliefs as to where its own interests lie, is unwilling to give up its sovereignty. Yet in the United States, various groups are agitating for world government in the belief that public opinion in this country can be brought around to their views and that under U. S. leadership a partial world government might be formed. . . .

What we must do today is to use the United Nations more and more and by so doing, strengthen it. Let's stop trying to by-pass it. Let's really use the specialized agencies. We ourselves must help create a public opinion that will ask for such use. We must not, however, forget the idea of world government. Let us rather hold it up as a goal, working for a world that will accept it at some future date.

YES, AND SOON

Most optimistic note of all is hit by José Enrique Puente of Havana, Cuba, who is sure that "The dream of achieving world government can become a reality in the near future." Twenty-year-old José is the son of a merchant, and is studying social sciences and civil and diplomatic law at the University of Havana. After he gets his degree, he would like to get a job with the United Nations.



Man has always cherished the dream of seeing all his fellow human beings under a single government that would unite the peoples of the earth. . . . The airplane, the radio, and so on, by bringing people everywhere closer together, can help make this dream a reality. We in Havana can now reach China by telephone in a matter of minutes. . . .

Now, after more than 25 centuries of political and cultural development, and after mankind has known the pastoral, agricultural, industrial, and atomic ages, we find ourselves facing the prospect of a divided planet—on the one side a slave world, and on the other a free continent. The only solution is to fuse these two conflicting worlds in a single mold and establish a world government under which humanity can live free from wars and fears.

NEW FARMS FOR OLD

By William Vogt



The "new look" in conservation farming: terraces, strip crops, and contour cultivation

THE SCENE, the Arapaho National Forest, was one of the most beautiful valleys in the Rocky Mountains. One hundred and seventy-five people, representing every American republic and Canada, gathered about Regional Forester Lee Kirby to watch a simple experiment that will probably be repeated many times, from Newfoundland to Patagonia.

Forester Kirby took two circular metal bands about fourteen inches in diameter and eight inches wide and drove them a few inches into the soil. One he placed in an area that had been fenced against excessive grazing and, as a result, was protected by a good cover of vegetation. The other he drove into the ground a few feet away, on the other side of the fence, where the pasture had been overgrazed by livestock, trampled by their hooves, and denuded of its grass.

Then into each of the little reservoirs he poured water from buckets of the same size. On the side of the fence

where the range was in good condition, the water sank into the ground in about a minute and a quarter. The circle of overgrazed land required over ten minutes to absorb the water.

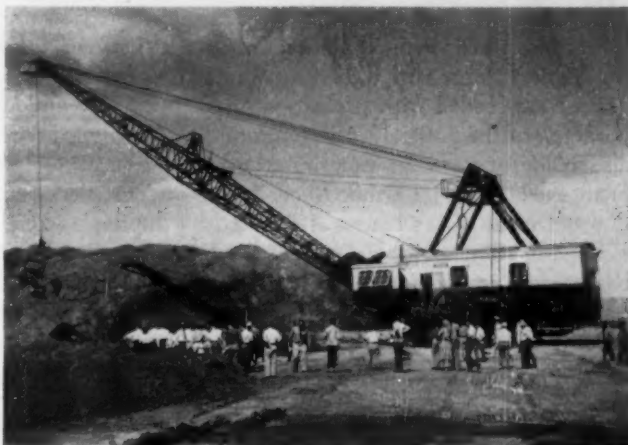
Here, in microcosm, was a clue to abuse of the land and falling productivity throughout the Western Hemisphere. On the vegetated side of the fence the soil was protected against washing. Some of the water nourished the grass and the rest sank below the surface, where it would contribute to the water table, springs, artesian wells, and the even flow of streams and rivers.

The slow penetration on the overgrazed land showed what would happen with a rainstorm. Unprotected topsoil would be eroded away and the tiny spaces in the trampled earth would be rapidly sealed by water and fine particles of earth from above. The water would run off the surface, carrying soil with it. Most of it could not sink in. What vegetation there was would get little good from the rain, which, with its load of destructive silt, would flood streams and choke river beds and reservoirs with sediment. Along the very edge of many creeks and streams in the United States, the water table is falling because silt from overgrazed lands is sealing stream beds and preventing penetration of the water. These streams are being turned into virtual conduits.

Forester Kirby's simple experiment in a sense summarizes a Western Hemisphere meeting that may be one of the most important ever held: the first Inter-American Conference on Conservation of Renewable Natural Resources at Denver, Colorado. The meeting grew out of the Third Inter-American Agricultural Conference, held in Caracas in August 1945. At the request of the Pan American Union, the U. S. Government agreed to act as host. The Conference opened on September 7, 1948, and promptly elected U. S. Secretary of Agriculture Charles F. Brannan President and Dr. Pedro Castro



Forester Lee Kirby demonstrates effect of rainfall on field with protective plant cover



Denver delegates inspect Cherry Creek Dam irrigation and flood control project



Farmer Race and family watch the face-lifting

Monsalvo, Minister of Agriculture of Colombia, Vice-President.

Many North American problems of land use have counterparts in the Latin American countries. To tie the discussions to realities, the delegates traveled over 500 miles during the Conference to study U. S. measures for coping with land waste. With scientific frankness, they were also shown the various ways in which these remedies are failing.

At the John Race farm twenty miles from Denver, the conferees joined 25,000 people for a spectacular conservation field day put on by the U. S. Department of Agriculture. The 850-acre farm was the largest yet remodeled for conservation farming in a single day. It includes three types of land: irrigated, non-irrigated crop areas, and range. With workmen and some 100 machines supplied free by equipment firms, the whole place was made



Students wearing simultaneous interpretation equipment interview Ecuadorean delegate Dr. Francisco Banda after one of the sessions



Whirlwind terracer recarves the profile of John Race's west field



The remodeled barn-lot gets a modern concrete watertank

over between 9:30 A.M. and 4:00 P.M. September 18. Hilly fields were converted into level terraces to control soil washing. Irrigation ditches were realigned and, where necessary, lined with concrete. A water control dam was built. A grassed waterway was constructed. Steep areas were seeded with protective grass. Leveling added 45 acres to the 110 under irrigation. The barnyard was also made over, and a new watertank and several equipment sheds built. Farmer Race, father of four, declared that the value of his land was doubled by the day's work.

Organization of the Denver Conference reflected a basic idea: examination of the whole environment to judge probable future, as well as present, needs for natural resources and the means of studying them. Population increases and efforts to raise living standards had to be considered. There were six specialized sections of the agenda.

One dealt with the relation of human population to hemisphere resources and trends in both. Dr. Kingsley Davis of the Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, summarized population growth in the Americas. He showed that it is much more rapid in Latin America, where in general "the land has a lower carrying capacity."

"The position of this hemisphere as a food exporter," he summed up, "is based upon our relative population sparsity, the newness of the land, and low consumption at home. However, these conditions are changing, and eventually we shall no longer be able to ship food abroad. To avoid ultimate scarcity, the Americas must speedily adopt a conservation program, and Asiatics must halt the present irresponsible rate of reproduction in the face of waning resources."

The role of renewable resources in international relations was the second topic. Dr. Mauricio Nabuco, Brazilian Ambassador to the United States; Dr. Wilson Popenoe, Director of the Pan American School of Agriculture; Dr. Amos E. Taylor, Secretary of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council; and Mr. Clinton P. Anderson, former U. S. Secretary of Agriculture, were among the speakers on this point. They considered the effect of resources on international peace, competition, trade, and tourist travel, and discussed ways of international cooperation in conservation.

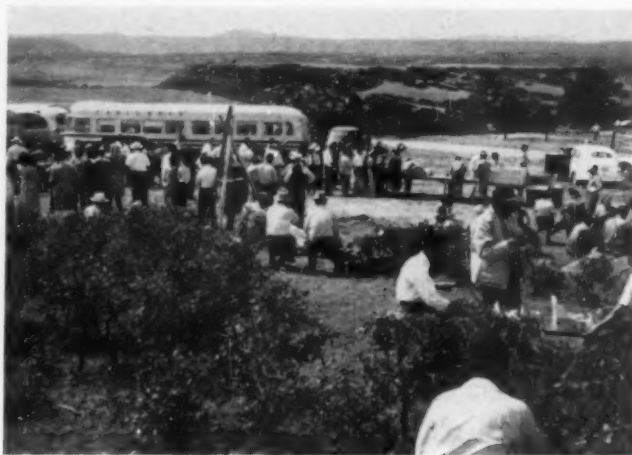
Next the problem of land use came in for analysis from the viewpoint of the social sciences. This discussion emphasized the importance of taking legal, social,

economic, and cultural factors into account in conservation plans.

Two entire days were devoted to the inter-relations of soil, water, forest and grass lands, and animal life, and the actual techniques of conservation. In a paper presented *in absentia*, Dr. Adolfo Orive Alba, Secretary of Hydraulic Resources of Mexico, pointed out that "there are only 25 million acres of arable land with an adequate water supply" in his country, for a population approaching 25 million people. Although there is no generally applicable rule, in the United States, for example, two and a half acres of tillable land per person are considered necessary to maintain the national standard of living.

Dr. Orive emphasized the need for long-range development of water resources on a sustained yield basis, to get the most from arid and semi-arid land. Mr. Leonard Outhwaite, of Princeton University's Office of Population Research, noted that the United States has one of the world's most serious problems of overpopulation and land abuse on its own Navajo Reservation. He suggested that this area be used as a laboratory for improving the balance between men and their environment.

The part of education in conservation brought out a full day of lively discussion. Education obviously ranked high in everyone's mind as a weapon in the campaign for conserving, restoring, and properly using the resources indispensable to man's welfare. Salvador Jaureguí,



Even conservationists get hungry. Delegates stop for lunch on a field trip

Salvadorean delegate, joined other participants in special praise for a striking graphic exhibit prepared by the State Department. In 41 panels of photographs and drawings, the exhibit depicted climbing populations, wasting hillsides, floods, forest destruction, and methods of control. The Conference urged circulation of this show throughout the hemisphere.

At the final session, the Conference took up means of making conservation efforts effective through action by governments, private organizations, the press, etc. Altogether, 111 papers of an unusually high order of excellence were presented. These will be published in two

Continued on page 40

points of view



ARGENTINA **MASS MIGRATION** Virtually an entire pre-fabricated city, complete with houses, factory equipment, and population, has been shipped from Italy to the Argentine part of Tierra del Fuego, the island lying south of the Straits of Magellan. *La Prensa*, venerable Argentine daily, reports that the 620 khaki-clad immigrants, mainly from southern Italy, recently reached Ushuaia aboard the Italian ship *Genova*. In the group were 72 women and 74 children, doctors, dentists, a chaplain, engineers, carpenters, and other specialized personnel.

La Prensa cautiously reserves judgment on the merits of the novel scheme: "The fact that foreigners are establishing a new city in a sparsely populated area of the country may cause regret that Argentine citizens concerned with working out a future for themselves and wishing to contribute to the general progress, did not go in there before the new settlers. It may also give rise to speculation over the desirability of organizing nuclei made up exclusively of foreigners, no matter how close the ties between their country and ours, with professional men, priests, and equipment of their own. All these will constantly remind them of their distant homeland and make their assimilation into the local community more difficult."

The *Review of the River Plate*, Anglo-Argentine commercial journal, cites an announcement by the Secretary of Industry and Commerce that foreign industrial concerns established in Argentina, complete with machinery and personnel, number 107. The *Review* seconds the opinion of the Argentine Chamber of Metallurgical Industries that "... introduction of industries complementary to those already existing in the country is highly praiseworthy, but those which compete, when the market is already catered for, should not have been encouraged."

CHILE **THE PETTICOAT VOTE** When Chilean President González Videla signed into law, on January 8, a bill giving women the vote, he made his country the twelfth in America where they have full suffrage. This law, remarks the Santiago daily *El Mercurio*, is a "great victory" for the ladies, but the paper goes on to warn them that "the country wants to be shown what will come of this new era in its political evolution."

"... As in any victory," the editorial says soberly, "the influence that the right to vote has just given them throws clear responsibilities on their shoulders. They must now organize on behalf of the country's highest aspirations. If they want to correct—as they say they do—our political evils, they will have to stick together and exercise the sense of proportion that characterizes them."

Women have been allowed to vote and run for office in local elections since 1934. According to *El Mercurio*, "The nation will be watching with especially keen interest because public opinion, going by the results of women's participation in municipal government, inclines toward a perhaps unjustified pessimism."

The newspaper advises the Chilean woman to use as a standard "the example of what the members of her sex are doing in the Anglo-Saxon countries, where they provide balance and thought ... [and] tip the scales in favor of the best and most

honorable elements. Women are always strict in moral judgments; they have an instinct in these matters that is a precious factor in community life."

Another writer in *El Mercurio* calls denial of suffrage "an insult to all the outstanding women who have served Chile so nobly . . . but could not drop a vote in a ballot-box to elect a congressman."

The article continues: ". . . This injustice toward women has been far too obvious, at least since the increase in the number of schools for women. . . . We may not recognize a privileged political status for men. It is reasonable to say that men and women with equally good educations are equally capable of voting wisely."

After citing several women active in charitable or educational work, the author concludes: "It would take several columns to . . . complete this list, adding to it the names of hundreds of truly distinguished women—women who represent the country in official positions, in diplomatic and consular jobs, or at conferences abroad; or who work here in Chile, writing books, editing magazines, directing schools. . . . Not one of them has had the rights our law granted to any laborer who could barely sign his name."

"Women were allowed to hold degrees, to become doctors, dentists, lawyers, but they were pariahs at the polls. This absurd state of affairs could not continue any longer."

ECUADOR

PROBLEMS OF THE HOUR According to an editorial in *El Comercio* of Quito, a need for capital to make use of its natural resources is Latin America's number one problem. All the countries south of the Rio Grande can be considered as a unit, says the writer. "Although some countries are better off than others, the general situation is the same: all have vast territories with great potentialities standing idle for the lack of workers, roads, initiative, and capital. A small portion of the territory is producing, but without the materials or the know-how required by modern industry. There are countries such as our own that still have an economy very like that of colonial times."

"Thus," the editorial goes on, "it is necessary to give our economies a thorough overhauling. . . . In order to produce, we must find a system of development that coordinates all our resources so that we will have tangible results, not just the piecemeal projects we have had so often. . . . These projects increased production to a certain extent, but always within the traditional limitations. . . ."

"Naturally, in order to bring about the necessary reorganization, careful preliminary studies must be made. . . . And the capital required for carrying out the plans must be available; we must obtain loans from U. S. credit institutions, which could and should grant them to us. Through coordination and sufficient capital we can produce enough to give new life to our countries, make use of our natural resources, and strengthen the economy of the whole continent."

"These are the problems of the hour that must be the primary concern of governments and credit institutions. North American capitalists must be convinced that the granting of credit to Latin America would not be just a gracious or condescending gesture. They should be made to understand the effect it would have on the economy of America as a whole. What good is an enormous continent where side by side with a rich people, there are peoples potentially rich, but actually poor because they cannot get the cooperation necessary to help them make use of their natural resources?"

INDIAN GIVERS In a jubilant front-page story, *El Universal*, one of the leading dailies of Mexico City, reports an end to litigation over Indian lands that had dragged out over two and a half centuries. The dispute focussed on 57,500 acres in the little Sinaloa village of Santiago Ocoroni.

"The land," *El Universal* points out, "was awarded to the Indians by royal grant from Spain in 1678. They tilled it peacefully until 1756, when they became the victims of almost continuous aggression designed to rob them of their legitimate property. Under Porfirio Díaz, the communal land was declared public property and part of it was given over to two private estates, owned by foreigners."

"It did the Indians no good to protest or present proof of ownership and legal title to their lands," the writer comments indignantly. "These were a dead letter."

Even after the Revolution, the court refused to recognize the Indians' title, offering them instead a land grant. The Indians refused the gift, which they alleged



La Prensa Libre, Havana, shows factory worker explaining that wages are to be paid on the roof, because new President Prio Socarrás "believes in high wages"

MEXICO

was already rightfully theirs ("una sopa de su propio chocolate"—a soup made of their own chocolate—*El Universal* remarks in a scornful aside). What was worse, they were not even offered all of it.

But the story has a happy ending. Two hundred and seventy years after the original decree of Carlos II, President Alemán signed a resolution vesting title to the land in the 1,357 families of the village, and ordered the Agrarian Department to issue a corrected deed.

VENEZUELA



Traveler buying ticket to Ciudad Juárez, mindful of recent train crack-ups, asks agent: "... And what hospital do you recommend?"—From *Excelsior*, Mexico City



"See the ruins of Teotihuacán—and the modern ones of Mexico City," reads poster U.S. visitors are studying in one of Arias Bernal's "Tourism" cartoons in *Excelsior*

WHAT'S IN A NAME? "The Street that Defies a Hemisphere" is the title of an article by Chilean journalist Carlos Dávila in *El Heraldo* of Caracas, Venezuela, on what he calls "the red-hot Sixth Avenue or Avenue of the Americas dispute."

"The problem is growing and threatens to become the biggest of the biggest city in the world. Other streets and avenues might also rebel. . . . If matters get any more complicated, the 'Society for the Abolition of Confusion in Names of the City of New York' and the 'Association of Re-Namers' . . . will be swamped with work. I think there should also be a 'Society against Inadequate Names.' At least the residents of streets and avenues have a right to appeal to the authorities when a name, such as the Avenue of the Americas, doesn't suit them. But what recourse do children have? A capricious name can embitter or ruin their entire lives."

If Sixth Avenue chooses to keep its prosaic label, Sr. Dávila predicts that "it may pass into history as the avenue that disdained a great name; in the annals of the Western Hemisphere the decision will be attributed to arrogance or humility or simply to a desire for convenience. . . .

"It is not that Sixth Avenue does not have a history; it has a very colorful one, though not all under the name that it now defends against an entire continent, against the Department of State, and against the spirit of Mayor La Guardia. It was called West Road until 1811, when it was given the name Sixth Avenue. One hundred thirty-seven years later, on October 2, 1945, a law of the City Council baptized it Avenue of the Americas. Two hours after the law was passed, Mayor La Guardia received the first protest . . . and the battle continues to this date.

"Sixth Avenue has a reputation for biting off its nose to spite its face; it was opposed to the Elevated, which brought it prosperity for years. In its heyday it was lined with theaters and was so gay that religious reformers from all over the country called it ugly names in their zeal to attract it to the ways of the Lord. The immortal Sarah Bernhardt made her American debut on Sixth Avenue; and there the Barrymore family started on its way to fame. There, we are told, John Masefield polished bronze cuspidors until the world recognized his poetic genius. . . . O. Henry often told of his escapades in the bars and cabarets of Sixth Avenue. . . . The decadence of the Avenue was not caused by someone's having thought one day of calling it Avenue of the Americas; it was caused by a shifting of the city's activities towards Broadway and Fifth Avenue. . . .

"Some say that the new name 'has not caught on.' This is a strong argument; in matters like this, custom is stronger than laws. 'The change has caused confusion and chaos,' say other objectors. But why is it that no such confusion occurred when the names of a dozen streets, avenues, and parks were changed to Roosevelt? The logicians ask: But how can you call a street between Fifth Avenue and Seventh Avenue anything but Sixth Avenue? . . .

"The root of the trouble is that the residents and merchants of Sixth Avenue want to be left alone with their name and their habits. It is not that they are isolationists and against any show of internationalism. They are simply against changes. I do not think there is any truth in one commentator's insinuation that Pan Americanism is so out of favor in a nation that seems resolved to stand or fall with Europe, that Sixth Avenue refuses to be a symbol of it.

"In any case, it seems to me that the Latin American countries would like to have the whole thing dropped. . . . Latin America did not ask that a hemispheric name be given to a numerical avenue; it was New York's idea."

PERU

A PLACE FOR DISPLACED PERSONS *La Prensa*, Lima daily, recently issued an editorial plea for welcoming many more European refugees. It points out that Peru's location in the center of South America's west coast has not been conducive to

immigration. "We could not, like the United States," the editorial asserts, "offer immigrants the advantages of a rapidly growing industrial life or, like Argentina and Cuba, offer extensive agricultural lands."

The paper takes the country to task for neglecting immigration opportunities on two former occasions. "The first was just after World War I, when thousands of Central Europeans . . . would have been glad of the chance to move to America. The Government would not have had to try very hard to attract them since at that time they were prevented from entering the United States by strict quotas. When we tried to fill our need for more people twelve years afterwards, it was too late . . . the only potential immigrants remaining in Europe were unemployable social misfits. The other opportunity was during the Spanish Civil War, when many Basques wanted to go to Peru with their families. "The Basques, because of their capacity for work and their ethnic and moral qualities, are welcome everywhere. . . . But we accused them of being extremists and closed our ports to them. They went instead to Argentina, Mexico, and, on a smaller scale, to Chile, where they established prosperous and active colonies."

Peru now has a chance to redeem these past mistakes, the editorial explains. "The last war has left great numbers of Europeans without a country and without a chance to get ahead in life. The expansion of Communist-controlled territory has displaced millions of people who cannot be absorbed by poor and undernourished countries like France and Italy. The time has come to take advantage of these circumstances to . . . bring immigrants to Peru."

" . . . We have less than 100,000 foreigners in our midst," the editorial continues. " . . . We need immigrants badly for our fields and industries. As long as we have only some 8,000,000 people occupying our 500,000 square miles of territory, or about 16 persons per square mile, we are very much handicapped. . . .

"We have succeeded in bringing in a few hundred immigrants—probably less than a thousand, all told. . . . They will do no more than solve the problem of a factory that needs a specialized technician or of an *hacienda* that needs a good foreman. But they will not solve the national problem—of populating our territory, of injecting new blood, of changing the outlook of our Indians through contact with men bringing new customs, new habits of work, new life."

The editorial concludes by calling for thousands of foreigners "to come to our land and take roots in it. . . . We must offer them not just the possibility but the assurance of jobs. . . . A way must be found to give them special help while they are getting their start. . . . The problem of populating our territory is not one that we can trust time to solve. We must face it with energy and determination before the opportune moment has passed."

URUGUAY

FOR TOMORROW'S CITIZENS An editorial in the Uruguayan newspaper *El País*, of Montevideo, accents the part schools must play in a democracy. Education's job, the editorial maintains, is to "develop in the child and adolescent the concept of individual liberty for insuring the liberty of nations. We must emphasize the meaning behind our fundamental laws, and use the public schools to make our nation's principles known to the students. . . ."

Referring to José Pedro Varela, Uruguayan educator of the mid-19th century, the writer continues, " . . . The need to teach the new generations the principles of free government and give them a real understanding of the rights, the duties, and the dignity of citizenship, were what decided Varela to undertake, in the midst of a dictatorship, his great work of elementary-school reform. This was based on the idea—expressed repeatedly in his writings—that 'the school ought primarily to educate, and secondarily to instruct.' A Mexican teacher, answering a questionnaire in her country on this interesting subject, recently voiced her belief that all school activities from kindergarten to university can be used to educate for democracy, so long as the teacher recognizes and respects the personality of the student and knows how to create a favorable environment. . . .

"The acute crisis through which democracy on the American continent is now passing," the editorial concludes, "should be attributed mainly to neglect of education for democracy; to not having made democratic doctrine the core of all young Americans' education."



Overcrowded transportation facilities in Mexico City prompt Novedades cartoon entitled "A Desire Named Streetcar"

book reviews

BOOKS AND AUTHORS IN LATIN AMERICA

By Jorge Basadre

THE PUBLISHING INDUSTRY in Hispanic America has a short and brilliant past, but a nebulous future. Getting its first real start in 1937, when the flow of books from Spain was cut off, it grew slowly during the next three years, reaching its zenith between 1941 and 1946. Then the decline set in.

There are several reasons for the industry's present difficulties. Book publication on a continental scale grew faster than the sales machinery. Paper and labor shortages were intensified by inflation, by rising living costs, and in some countries by new social legislation. Lack of foreign exchange restricted trade between countries, froze credits, and caused semi-paralysis of bookstores and publishing houses. The reappearance of books from Europe—chiefly Spain and France—brought new competition. Finally, book piracy is flourishing once more.

Whatever fate may be in store for our publishers, during 1948 they fought valiantly and made notable achievements. One was the continuation of the *Biblioteca Americana*, the vast project designed by the Mexican Fondo de Cultura Económica to collect under one roof the classics of all kinds from every Hispanic American country. This ambitious undertaking is not a dusting off of obsolete or antique museum pieces. Rather, it is a Latin American battle-cry, announcing to the world that four centuries of Latin American writing have been underestimated and ignored and deserve re-discovery. To be sure, there have been some new editions of national classics in Colombia, Venezuela, Mexico, Argentina, Chile, and Cuba, and anthologies in Peru, Panama, and other countries. We should also mention the magnificent edition of Simón Bolívar documents published by the Government of Venezuela (Havana, 1947, 2 vols.). But complete editions of the works of many of the outstanding authors are missing, while those that have been published are frequently poorly edited or out of print.

Several volumes of the *Biblioteca Americana* have already appeared. Among them are a new version of the *Popol Vuh*, the book of the ancient Mayas, translated by Dr. Adrián Recinos, and the *Ensayo sobre el Entendimiento Humano* (*Essay on the Human Mind*) by Andrés Bello. These two books will undoubtedly be carefully studied by quite different groups. One, of course, appeals particularly to the Indianist movement so important in Guatemala, Mexico, and the Andean countries not only in literature, but in the fields of ethnology, anthropology, and folklore. The *Ensayo sobre el Entendimiento*

Humano, on the other hand, reveals Bello the philosopher, a new picture to hang beside the familiar portraits of Bello the grammarian, the poet, and the jurist.

More than 40 other volumes have come from the presses of the Fondo de Cultura Económica in another series, the collection of contemporary authors entitled *Tierra Firme*. These are short volumes, mainly on aspects of the history, geography, or literature of the various countries, regions, or the continent as a whole. It is an uneven collection, including some average items as well as noteworthy contributions.

Almost all of the writers represented in *Tierra Firme* are between thirty and forty years old and belong to no set school. Yet they share certain basic similarities. One, also characteristic of other contemporary authors, is their attitude toward history. They do not scorn history, nor do they underestimate it as the debunking generation did. But neither do they limit themselves to purely scholarly treatment like some of the great historians at the turn of the century.

In the work of these young writers, detailed and careful research becomes a tool for interpretation and evaluation. Their analyses are based on the essence of the past without overlooking today's problems or tomorrow's possibilities. Thus history today is written for the general public, not for the specialist alone. Yet there is no concession to sensationalism or frivolity. Biographies based on careful search for the facts and serious interpretation alternate with "profile" surveys of whole nations; but the fictionalized biographies that gave history a painted face in the 1920's and 1930's are no longer in style.

A favorite device of authors is to analyze a nation by the characteristics of a typical individual, or by illustrative historical incidents. The analysis is sometimes harsh, but does not show the positivist fatalism of some treatises written at the turn of the century. What we have today is constructive criticism. Along with an occasional pessimistic view of the present, there is a conditional optimism toward the future. These writers recognize that a brighter future depends on the efforts and sacrifice of present and future generations. This, in short, is the message of such widely different, perhaps even antagonistic works as those of Jaime Eyzaguirre of Chile, Mariano Picón Salas of Venezuela, Eduardo Caballero Calderón of Colombia, Natalicio González of Paraguay, and Fernando Diez de Medina of Bolivia.

Unlike current best sellers in the United States, which teach how to have peace of mind, how to stop worrying, or how to gain confidence, Latin American literature is inclined to provoke mental war and social worry. Fernando Diez de Medina, a young Bolivian writer, represents a recent and perhaps typical example of this

trend. He began by writing poetry. Then he was attracted by literary criticism. A few years ago he published a handsome, exceptionally well-written book on the Belgian etcher Victor Delhez.

Later, Medina turned to Bolivian subjects. His scholarly biography of a prominent Bolivian Indian writer, thinker, and sociologist, Franz Tamayo, started passionate controversies. Tamayo himself protested in a pamphlet entitled *Forever*. Medina answered with another bitter pamphlet, *For Never*. This year he has published another book, entitled *Pachakuti*. It is a devastating attack on the Bolivian tin magnates and an appeal for a fair and more socialized economy, perhaps the seed of a new political party of the future. Now Fernando Diez de Medina is editor of a new newspaper, *Combate*.

Not all the new books appearing in Latin America are by Latin Americans. The work of some European residents of America or emigrés now in this continent add weight to the Latin American output. Spaniards are particularly important in this group. *La Poesía de Rubén Darío* (*The Poetry of Rubén Darío*, Buenos Aires, Editorial Losada, 1948) by the great poet and critic Pedro Salinas, for example, is a model of expert criticism and purity of style. The essays of Jorge Guillén, published last year in Bogotá, have similar merits, although they are less widely known.

Salinas finds in Darío not only a restless mind but a "complete continental"—a true American. So it is with every great Latin American writer. In the works of some, "continental nationalism" is implicit, in others it is concretely expressed. Luis Cardoza y Aragón, in his *Sinfonía del Nuevo Mundo* (*New World Symphony*, Guatemala, 1948), reaffirms an individual continental nationalism, already attained in his earlier works of esthetic interpretation *La Nube y el Reloj* (*The Cloud and the Clock*) and *Apolo y Coatlicue*. In this last title, he combined the Greek god Apollo as a symbol of the Mediterranean tradition with the name of the Aztec goddess of earth and death in an effort to emphasize the joint European and Indian background of Latin American culture.

Latin America has always taken a keen interest in world affairs. Foreign news takes up a large portion of the newspapers in our capitals. And the majority of books published are still translations, with many best sellers by foreign authors. Sam Warner, Director of the U. S. Copyright Office, found in 1947 that the authors most in demand in Lima, Peru, bookstores were Somerset Maugham and A. J. Cronin. Much of this success was probably due to the almost simultaneous appearance of several novels by each of them. Cronin's Catholicism may also have helped his popularity in Latin America.

More recently, Kravchenko's book on his break with Russia has had a big sale. There is also great demand among young people and the general public for books on technical subjects and modern science. Library readers ask for as many scientific as literary books, and their interests range from practical solutions for everyday problems to theoretical discussions of atomic energy and radar. Most of the popular science works are translations, but there have been a few local efforts like the col-

lection *El Mundo de la Post-guerra* (*The Postwar World*) of Editorial Mundo Atlántico, Buenos Aires.

The cosmopolitan interests of Latin American readers and authors stem from various attitudes. In some cases, the tendency persists to admire whatever comes from outside—typical of a colonial state of mind. But sometimes it is the genuine need for sound information that makes the reader look abroad. And often those who start new currents of ideas or take up a discussion begun abroad are trying to perform the important task of opening windows to fresh thought. The flood of books, pamphlets, and articles in Latin America on existentialism and Jean Paul Sartre may represent something of all three tendencies. Typical of this literature are the works of Vicente Fatone (Buenos Aires, Editorial Argos, 1948) and Francisco Vives Estévez (Santiago, Chile, Editorial del Pacífico, 1948), and many translations of Sartre's own writings.

This is only a sampling of last year's output. Nevertheless 1948 was definitely a depression year for the Latin American book trade. Here are some measures that might be considered to improve the situation: loans to publishers on fair terms that will not enslave the industry but put public welfare ahead of private profit; priority ratings for paper, books, and periodicals in the allotment of foreign exchange; establishment on a trial basis of a Western Hemisphere coupon system for the purchase of books or periodicals anywhere in the continent, to avoid currency exchange difficulties. It is also imperative to combat book piracy by enforcing the legal agreements protecting intellectual property, including the much-abused copyright laws.

In any case, to pull out of the depression, immediate national and international attention is needed.

U. S. AUTHORS LOOK SOUTH

By Ernesto Montenegro

THE 1948 CROP of books on Latin America published in the United States indicates a steadily growing interest in their southern neighbors on the part of both authors and the reading public. The year's output of several hundred volumes runs the gamut from the inevitable travel impressions and tourist guidebooks to serious historical and scientific studies. Of this varied assortment, the novel deserves special mention because it points up one significant fact: that quite a number of U. S. writers consider themselves sufficiently familiar with the social life and inner character of one or another of the neighboring countries to center a creative literary work on them.

In one of these, *The Cry of Dolores*, critic and novelist Herbert Gorman presents a vividly realistic historical picture of the Mexican Independence period. The figure of Padre Hidalgo stands out sharply against the background of events, even though the less famous leading characters symbolize the people as a whole. The author, one feels, did not need laborious research to capture the atmosphere of the times. In many corners of the continent the Indians' attitude toward life has remained almost

unchanged. Their history does not flow like a river; rather it can be compared to a deep, still lake, often ruffled by severe storms, but always reflecting the same scene. Those who might be called the protagonists of the novel are Ciriaco, illegitimate son of a Spanish soldier, and his Indian mother María de la Luz. In the boy, who grew up in Padre Hidalgo's house and caught the contagious revolutionary enthusiasm of the times, the joint destiny of two races is fulfilled.

Another semi-historical novel, *Way of a Gaucho*, by Herbert Childs, deals with the period in Argentine history when the pastoral way of life was beginning to lose its nomadic character under the pressure of agricultural settlement by Europeans—around 1875. The hero is an orphan, Goyo. He inherited a passion for the adventurous, rootless life of the Creole cowboy that carries him from place to place, from one escapade to another. At first glance, this story seems to be a Zane Grey version of the classic novel of the Argentine pampas, Ricardo Güiraldes' *Don Segundo Sombra*. But the comparison only emphasizes the contrast between the wordiness and monotonous rural episodes of Mr. Childs' tale and the lyric quality of the Argentine saga. Still, Childs' work does not suffer from Güiraldes' over-sentimentality.

Two other novels with an Argentine setting are *The Enchanted Life* and *The Baby Lamb*, both concerned with relations between Argentines and "Anglos." In the first, Mary Foster Main traces the story of four generations of an English family living in rural Argentina. The newly married Monroes, Luke and Catharine, come from England to live in the country. But while Luke devotes himself to an active life on the pampa, his wife never succeeds in adjusting to Creole ways, nor does she want to. The children and even the granddaughters are sent to England for their education.

In *The Baby Lamb*, Jean Boley concentrates her attention on new psychological devices, touching only incidentally on Argentine life as such. Her novel depicts the cosmopolitan life of Buenos Aires as it affects the destiny of a North American girl, Mabel Wooley Buttonfield, in the popular psychological triangle of father, mother, and daughter.

It turns out that the relations between representatives of the two groups and the intimate relations between members of one family are equally unsatisfactory. The book titles thus become expressions of bitter irony. The prevailing climate in both novels is one of mutual lack of understanding, and the tenseness and complexity of human relations in "modern" society are reasonably well reflected.

So much for the degree of faithfulness in the presentation of atmosphere in these four novels. As for their literary quality, Mr. Gorman is the most successful in making his characters convincing, even though there is a certain disparity between the affectation of some of his expressions and the primitive quality of 1810 Mexico. All four works tend to emphasize the picturesque and quaint rather than fundamentally human aspects of their "foreign" characters. Attempts at artistic interpretation

of Latin America by U. S. authors are bound to be conventional until a writer can hit on the common denominator that enables him to portray the aspirations and anxieties of men and women in any country or any period—as Conrad interpreted life at sea or Doughty the Arab world. Until such a genius appears, it seems to me it is more reasonable to hope that some day a "transplanted" novelist—someone of North American ancestry born in Latin America, or better yet, someone of mixed Anglo-Hispanic blood—will come forward with a genuine, artistic, and worthy example of inter-Americanism in the novel.

So much for the novel. There are two works of serious scholarship that deserve attention. The first is Professor John Brande Trend's small volume, *Bolívar and the Independence of Spanish America* in which with admirable conciseness he sums up the Liberator's traits of character and the scope of his political ideas. If this little book does not supersede the brilliant but incomplete work by Bolívar's biographer Jules Mancini, it surpasses it in depth and critical value, even discounting Trend's insistence on the hero's anglophile leanings.

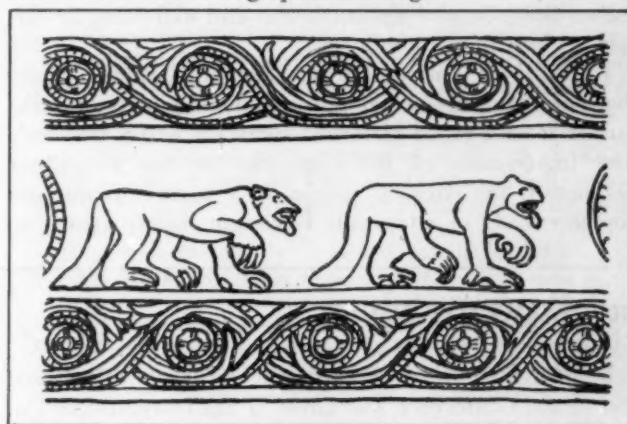


Illustration from "Roving South"

Salvador de Madariaga's study, *The Fall of the Spanish American Empire*, completes an earlier work by the same author on Spain's activities in the New World. Characteristically, the author tends to interpret historical events in a psychological and sometimes melancholy way. No less capricious is his final hypothesis that Spain and its former colonies could have maintained political ties like those between the nations of the British Commonwealth. To make the dreamed-of arrangement strictly one of relations between equals, Spain would have had to liberalize her institutions as she did under the short-lived republic of 1930.

In contrast to these books, the chronicle of contemporary history by the journalist Ray Josephs, *Latin America, Continent in Crisis*, suffers from a defect common to many correspondents' impressions: a certain garrulousness, and a lack of interest in or ignorance of historical background that makes for only a two-dimensional study. The mere reporter, experienced in recording facts, often observes well, but this is no guarantee of the accuracy of his reasoning. Many of these compila-

tions of travelers' anecdotes are literally observations made on the wing—thanks to the airplane. Their inevitable result is to increase the confusion in the reader's mind.

On the other hand, Willard Price is both a genial and a keen observer of customs. With his wife he made the complete circuit of Latin America, including the Antilles. Whether he let the environment soak into him or responded spontaneously to it, his *Roving South* is a highly stimulating and revealing work.

Of a very different nature are A. Edward Stuntz' observations in *To Make the People Strong*. His mission was to follow up the work of the health commissions sent by the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. Instead of seeking the picturesque or the merely agreeable, Mr. Stuntz had to make his investigations in those regions where the rigors of the climate, natural obstacles, or human negligence have made life unpleasant for millions of people. Specialists will find in his work a detailed analysis on how effective technical cooperation has been established between North and Latin Americans. The ordinary reader will discover the thousand and one difficulties that conspire against health and well-being in certain regions of the continent.

In *Southern Empire: Brazil*, Bertita Harding follows the more general lines of a descriptive monograph. She ranges from a rapid historical summary and a traveler's first impressions of Rio's splendor or the ubiquitous verdure of the Amazon jungle, to a most intimate and complex study of a typically European society grown up

as if by accident on a tropical shore. Miss Harding brings to her task wide experience in Latin American studies and friendly understanding of those countries' problems.

A few other 1948 books succeeded in enlivening accounts of travel with personal observation and some distinction of style. *Lost City of The Incas* by former U. S. Senator Hiram Bingham will find many avid readers. Bingham relates his 1911 discovery of the ruins of Machu Picchu, the Inca citadel hidden atop an Andean peak in southern Peru. This work is not a strictly scientific study, for its author is neither archeologist nor anthropologist. Moreover, some of the material was published by Mr. Bingham thirty-odd years ago. But the mystery still surrounding this remarkable Indian civilization and the discoverer's enthusiasm are so contagious that the book holds the reader's interest throughout.

For very different reasons, the story of the river that made possible the Panama Canal, *The Chagres, River of Westward Passage*, achieves considerable dramatic impact. The thousands of travelers who cross the Isthmus will double their enjoyment of the trip if they take along John Easter Minter's saga of the turbulent and tragic past of the region that unfolds before their eyes.

Finally, in *The Magic Land: Mexico*, Ralph Hancock gives us a model of what a modern guide to a country can and should be. In addition to providing the customary information on roads, hotels, and points of interest, the author speaks with authority of the country's art. He ably sketches the history whose traces make Mexico one of the richest tourist attractions in the world.

NEW FARMS FOR OLD

Continued from page 32

volumes by the U. S. Department of State. The Final Act of the Conference was novel, if not revolutionary, in that it was limited to a declaration of principles and four resolutions that, among other things, call on the American governments, the PAU, and the FAO to take active steps for the protection of our resources.

The high caliber of representatives of the various governments and conservation organizations was one of the meeting's outstanding achievements. A large proportion of the conservation leaders of the hemisphere were on hand. And they worked! Sessions stretched from 9:30 in the morning to 6:00 in the evening, with the only break for luncheon, and most participants returned several evenings for two or three hours of motion pictures on conservation. Both working sessions and the movies were simultaneously translated into English and Spanish.

All this paid off. For the delegates left the Conference eager to carry on the work. Dr. Pedro Castro Monsalvo, interviewed on his return to the Colombian Ministry of Agriculture, declared that the Conference had faced squarely a really vital issue. "The erosion problem in many of our countries," he said, "was of such proportions that, frankly, we sometimes thought it impossible to solve. Fortunately, the work already carried out in the United States, and the results which we could see

on the various field trips arranged for us, gave us all a healthy optimism. So we returned ready to begin the campaign with the greatest enthusiasm . . ."

Dr. Castro enlisted the Ministry of Education to carry on vigorous conservation work in schools and colleges. He and Dr. Eduardo Mejía of the Ministry outlined an intensive soil conservation program, to start with setting up a conservation study center at the Bonza Agricultural Experiment Station. There practical training courses would be given to agronomists and government technicians. Several conservation teams would be organized at once, beginning their field demonstrations in Boyacá Department. Graduate fellowships for soil conservation study in the United States would be offered.

Mexico, which sent a large delegation of experts to Denver, began a series of regional conservation conferences in December, with the Guanajuato State Congress on Soil Conservation in Celaya. At this meeting, in the center of a rich agricultural zone, 65 technical papers were presented. Recommendations were made to increase soil fertility and to open new lands to cultivation.

The historic Denver meeting, even more important for future generations than for our own, was closed by President Truman on September 20. He called conservation one of the most important problems of the hemisphere and cooperation in this field one of the most vital aspects of inter-American friendship.

BRACEROS

Continued from page 17

in California. One of those, no reader of Chamber of Commerce ads, declared: "The climate is awful." Deputy Consul Ernesto Romero estimated that half of those abandoning their jobs returned to Mexico while the others wandered on with the migrant stream or took jobs on local ranches.

Better wages than they have known at home are the biggest attraction for the Mexicans. Citrus pickers start at 65 cents an hour. "I work hard, but I get big pay," said one. "The wages help me with my family in Mexico." To some, the trip north was a longed-for adventure. And they could learn new skills in the harvesting of special crops. "I am glad to learn how Americans do their crops," an Orange county worker explained. "I improve myself for when I go back to Mexico."

Almost invariably the growers reported that they prefer the Mexican nationals to any other workers. They are more willing to work and less likely to quit in the middle of the day to visit the saloon in town.

A Ventura County manager blamed difficulties on the domestic migrants. "Mexicans are all right as long as they are not contaminated by the ideas of our migrant workers. The American pickers often spread discontent, suggesting that the Mexicans would find better food, quarters, and wages if they moved on to another camp."

Neglect of the workers' leisure is one of the most discouraging features of the program. The resulting loneliness, idleness, and social isolation are the most serious psychological by-products of the contract labor plan. The Cucamonga camp was the only one of those visited where any effort was made to provide pleasant or useful activities for after-work hours.

Listing suggestions for improving the contract program, Dr. Cole put this point first: "The camp management and the community ought to improve their services to these Mexican nationals in order to give them a more friendly and purposeful introduction to the American way of life. This might well include leisure time facilities for recreation, adult education classes, church services, and friendly relations in general."

To such suggestions, employers gave these reactions: "I never thought of it before . . . perhaps." "We used to do some of those things. We could do them again." "It would help the men, but it isn't in the contract."

Other recommendations gathered in California called for careful selection of camp managers who understand the Mexicans, and more attention to the workers' health. A regular check-up and preventive medicine would make for more work hours and more efficient work.

The welfare of both local and imported workers and the stability of the exporting country's economy are all deeply involved in these international migrations. Greater mechanization, particularly in cotton, may soon cut down the demand for farm labor in the United States. For low-income Mexicans, the long-term solution would seem to lie in greater production at home that would raise their standard of living.



Porfirio Díaz



Miguel Hidalgo

MY HERO The Scientific Institute of Mexican Public Opinion has never gone in for predicting election returns. It has asked a lot of questions, though—questions ranging from international relations to "Are you happy?" Just a few days before the U. S. pre-election polling fiasco, the Institute announced the results of its latest survey—"Who do you think are the greatest men in Mexican history?"

Using what the news weekly *Hispanoamericano* calls "a special method adapted to the conditions peculiar to Spanish America," the Institute polled Mexico City on its choice in heroes. Ninety-four percent of the people approached had opinions, reports *Hispano*, and they think Mexico's six greatest men are:

Miguel Hidalgo—the parish priest whose "Grito de Dolores" sparked the war for independence—mentioned by 62 percent of those questioned;

Benito Juárez—the Reformer—mentioned by 61 percent;

José María Morelos—independence leader—by 38 percent;

Porfirio Díaz—8 times President of Mexico, and still, 30 years after his death, one of her most controversial figures—by 19 percent;

Francisco I. Madero—leader of the movement that overthrew Díaz and brought about the 1910 Revolution—by 14 percent;

Cuauhtémoc—the last Aztec king—by 10 percent.

Hispano, devoting three columns to facts and figures, comments that "of even greater interest than the general results are the preferences shown by the different population groups." Díaz (either the leader of the Golden Age or the iron-handed dictator who gave Mexico's wealth away to foreigners, depending on your politics) was chosen by 35 percent of the business executives, but by only 10 percent of the students. On the other hand, the popularity of Cuauhtémoc was greatest among skilled workers, but only 3 percent of the executives mentioned him. Students and government employees preferred Juárez and Morelos. But there was more agreement about the virtues of independence—Hidalgo was mentioned by 69 percent of the private employees, 68 percent of skilled labor, 53 percent of the professionals, and 51 percent of the federal workers.

"Mention of Juárez . . . increases as the income decreases," continues *Hispano*, drawing a long breath. "While the popularity of Don Porfirio (Díaz) is 16 percent among persons earning between 200 and 399 pesos, it rises to 28 percent among persons with incomes of over 999 pesos a month. Madero and Cuauhtémoc are preferred by middle-income groups . . ."

"Analyzing opinions according to age groups, it was found that preference for Hidalgo does not vary, that for Juárez and Morelos it declines in the older age groups, and that for Don Porfirio it increases considerably among those approaching old age."

The Institute, for six years the Gallup Poll of Mexico, specializes in economic research. Dr. Laszlo Radvanyi, its director, says that although most people told him at the start that Mexicans would never answer questions put to them by pollsters, the percentage of answers often runs higher than in U. S. surveys. The last time they were asked about the state of their emotions, about half the people of Mexico City were either very happy or moderately so, and only 3 percent were unhappy.

WHAT'S BEHIND OUR REVOLUTIONS?

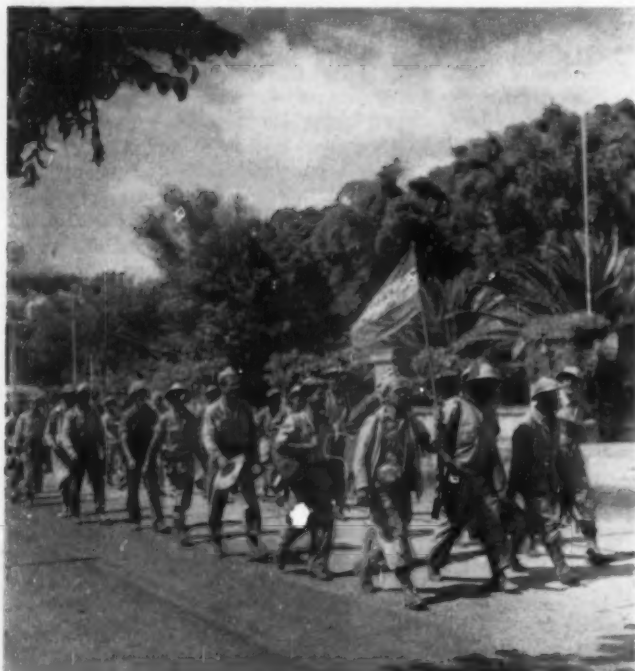
Continued from page 24

accentuated even more as the frontier moved west and the new settlers created their own fortunes.

In Spanish America, as in the southern United States—where political control was for a long time in the hands of Spaniards or Frenchmen—the social classes were gradually stratified. From the wealthy plantation owner or the commissionaire to the servant or the slave there was a rigid scale of distinctions, which later became an acute problem from the point of view of democracy.

Latin America suffered from the faults of the monarchical idea. The monarchy based everything on favor. The king graciously distributed lands and men, elevated protégés, bestowed titles, imposed taxes, put upon the humble the weight of daily labors. This formed habits of idleness and adulation, ideas of privilege, superiority complexes in certain families, which eventually cost time and bloodshed to abolish. In other European countries where the industrial revolution took place earlier, those mediaeval institutions were not so enduring as in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Spain. It is curious that much of what the Latin Americans are most bitterly censured for is a strictly European product. On the other hand the settlers of the thirteen North American colonies came from the Hanseatic League cities and from nations imbued with the mercantile, industrial spirit, the middle-class spirit which reacted against hierarchies of the nobility.

In our America to the south, those who succeeded in making their fortunes surrounded themselves with slaves, peons, servants. In today's Latin American speech there is an astonishing variety of colorful words to describe the precise status of those who do the work for the rest.



A recent uprising nipped in the bud. Detachment of Costa Rican troops returns to San José from the Nicaraguan border

I was born in a middle-class family in Bogotá—a city where there were no Negro slaves because the climate is too cold for them—and I remember that there never were fewer than four servants in my house, as well as the many peons who cared for the animals and did the chores in the fields. The peons called my father “my master” and they greeted me as “my little master.” The women called my mother, and still do, “your grace.” My home was typical.

Thus when the countries of Spanish and Portuguese America became independent, many aspects of life had to be revolutionized before they could reach the democratic level that came so easily in the thirteen colonies of the North. To create democracy where there have been no differences in color or social position is child's play.

These minor matters have gradually disappeared in Europe as a result of wars or revolutions, but Latin America has had to face them since the wars of independence. In 1775 the United States fought a war of independence, and nothing more. The revolutionary aspects of that war were reduced to more definite expression of principles, for even the colonies had been quite free. In Latin America, once independence from Spain had been won with the victory at Ayacucho, the revolution continued. That revolution must transform our social customs to achieve the democratic level that is indeed the unswerving ideal of all our nations.

It is very possible that our revolution is not yet over, that it still has a long road to travel. That explains at least part of Latin America's political instability.

WIN A TRIP TO HAITI

TO THE U. S. COLLEGE or university student turning out the best original essay on Haiti's contribution to the independence of the American republics (1776-1826), the Haitian Government is offering a two-week, all-expense trip to the island republic. Traveling first-class by boat or plane according to his choice, the winner will be the guest of the government at the Port-au-Prince Bicentennial Exposition next winter. Or, if unable to make the trip at that time, he will be awarded instead a cash prize of \$1,000. Second prize is \$500 in cash.

The contest is open to all graduates and undergraduates attending college or university in the United States, Hawaii, or Puerto Rico. The essays should run from 15,000 to 25,000 words, may be written in English, French, or Spanish, and must be postmarked not later than midnight May 31, 1949. Winners will be announced September 1. For further details, write to the Secretary, Prize Essay Contest, Haitian Embassy, Washington, D. C.

KNOW YOUR NEIGHBORS?

Answers on Page 48



1. Mosaic sidewalks, a bay, a beach, and a sugarloaf are some of the attractions of _____, a South American capital noted—among other things—for its glamor. Can you name it?



2. In 1911, U. S. archaeologist Hiram Bingham discovered these ruins atop a mountain crag north of Cuzco, Peru. Is this “lost city of the Incas” called Machu Picchu, Copán, or Teotihuacán?



3. The rider swoops down for the “duck” in a game that combines the features of polo, basketball, and tug-of-war and was first played by the Argentine gauchos. Is it *jai alai*, *beisbol*, *el pato*, or *futbol*?



4. This little animal, which produces one of the most luxurious and costliest of furs, comes from the Andean slopes of Bolivia, Chile, and Peru. Would you say it is a mink, chinchilla, vicuña, ermine, or beaver?



5. It's a woman's world as far as these San Blas Indians are concerned, for a matriarchal society prevails on the islands where they live. Are they Paraguayans, Panamanians, or Haitians?



6. Craftsmen at work in the pottery center of Tlaquepaque in the State of Jalisco. Every year, hundreds of U. S. visitors bring home some of this handicraft from the Republic of _____.



7. Identify by name progressive President _____ of Uruguay, grandson and nephew of two former Uruguayan presidents, who took office himself in 1947 after the death of Dr. Tomás Berreta.



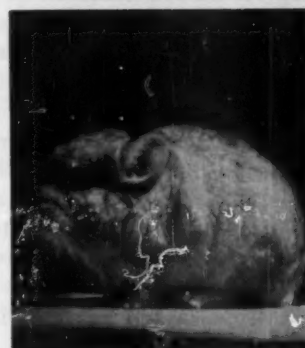
8. The dot on the map represents the city where the Ninth International Conference of American States was held last year. Should it be labeled Caracas, Quito, Managua, or Bogotá?



9. Dating from 1590, the weather-beaten Morro Castle is a famous island landmark, probably best known of all Caribbean fortresses. Can you name the city whose harbor it guards?



10. After drying, these strips of cinchona bark will be powdered to produce a drug used in the treatment of malaria. Is it marijuana, quinine, sulphur, opium, or penicillin?



MONSIEUR LE DIRECTEUR

Continued from page 13

as a duck chooses to swim, and came up step by step from third secretary to chargé d'affaires.

He served in the Mexican embassies and legations in France, Spain, Holland, Italy, Belgium, and Argentina. He held several Cabinet posts. As Secretary of Foreign Affairs, he went to Rio and Washington, to the United Nations in New York, and to Bogotá. In these international discussions he showed a remarkable ability to iron out conflicts between men of different race, nationality, and outlook, as well as those arising between delegations of literal-minded professors and temperamental intellectuals.

Like most Mexican political figures of the past decade or so, Torres leans slightly to the left of center, at just about the angle assumed by the country's oldest political institution, the Revolution. This revolution, which overthrew Porfirio Díaz in 1910, soon lost the violent aspects of reaction against absolutist rule. But the social instinct which once prompted the battlecry "Land and Liberty!" is unchanged. It is the code by which a successful Mexican public figure lives. Like all forces arising from chaotic beginnings, the revolution today seeks order. The systematic creator, the filing-cabinet mind, is preferred to the torch-waving anarchist.

Torres demonstrated fairly early that he was a Man with a Plan. During a break in his diplomatic career, he was private secretary to José Vasconcelos, when this man of letters took over the Department of Public Education. It was a time of tremendous ferment in Mexican education, around 1920. Vasconcelos added more yeast to the brew. Not unlike Huxley, he spent his boundless energy dreaming up projects which in some future millenium would convert every peon into a Ph.D. Unfortunately, Mexico lacked money, trained teachers, communications, and transportation to carry out these praiseworthy ideas. In every corner of the Department someone was working on a project, writing a book, laying out a magazine, gathering an art collection, hatching a plan. Torres had to line up all that welter of activity in recognizable order, and see to it that Vasconcelos took up each project in some sort of logical sequence.

During this stormy apprenticeship Torres developed the technique which he still uses. For every noble concept, he has a series of defense lines. He gives fair battle at every stage, retreating if necessary until he reaches the point where he feels he cannot yield another inch. Then the Mexican in him takes over. If need be, he will hold the fort single-handed, solemnly waving his defeated colors as though they were actually victorious.

He is implacably punctual, a rare quality in a land where people are seldom ruled by the clock. After he became Secretary of Education, his colleagues learned ruefully to distinguish between "nine o'clock, Don Jaime time" and "nine o'clock, Mexican time." Some of them learned the hard way. At the second Congress of Mexican Teachers in Saltillo in 1944, Don Jaime was to inaugurate the session at 3:00 P.M. One of his newly

appointed aides, who was to make the opening address, met an old schoolmate whom he had not seen for years. Joyfully they repaired to a local *cantina* to celebrate the reunion. They kept a close watch on the passing time, and about three-thirty proceeded briskly to the auditorium. Alone on the speakers' stand sat an annoyed Secretary of Education, where he had been since the stroke of three.

Torres is one of the first Latin American statesmen to take the modern press-relations measure of telling the newspapermen the whole story and leaving the handling of it up to them. While he was Secretary of Education, he had a personal press agent whose chief job was to keep reporters informed about everything going on in the Education Department. Naturally, much of Torres' favorable press was due to his dynamic education program, but a good deal of it can also be credited to his energetic press agent.

Entrevista



Por ARIAS
BERNAL



—¿Y al llegar al Líbano, que piensa hacer, don Jaime?
—Alfabetizarme...

Reporter asks Torres, studying Arabic grammar, what he plans to do in Lebanon. Mexico's literacy campaigner replies: "Teach myself to read."—From *Excelsior*, Mexico City

Fifteen years ago he married Josefina Juárez, a descendant of that American worthy, Benito Juárez, the President who overthrew the Austrian monarchy in Mexico. They have no children, and their affection for

each other is notable even in a society where lasting marriages are the rule.

Torres differs from many shining lights of his generation in his methodical design for living and orderly personal habits. His pleasures are quiet ones, and he takes them sitting down. He is passionately fond of the theater. Bridge also appeals to his coldly logical mind, and he plays it with the precision and grim concentration of a professional. Another mental stimulant is writing poetry, which is still his intellectual first love. However long and difficult the day, Torres never turns out the light without writing a few lines, tooling the phrases as meticulously as if he were carving jade.

As might be expected, Torres also loves books, but here he is a frank sensualist. To him no book is fit to be handled unless it is in the most luxurious of tooled leather bindings. Any new edition he thinks worthy of keeping gets the de luxe treatment before it finds a place on his bookshelves. Such binding traditionally costs little in Europe, and his library grew apace during his years there. Presumably, the pace will pick up again now that he is once more settled in Europe.

Torres is also incurably addicted to driving an automobile. "It frees my mind and rests my body," he once told a friend. Since for the last couple of decades he has been on a level where a car and chauffeur come with the job, he has become adept at inventing time-killing errands afoot for his chauffeur so that he can do his own driving without hurting the man's feelings.

However, food is *Monsieur le Directeur's* chief hobby, one which he pursues with almost religious fervor. To watch him order and consume a meal is to observe a solemn ritual. He listens to the waiter's suggestions, discusses them seriously, and checks the wine list. Finally he orders. He eats with an absorption half ecclesiastical, half oriental. A meal eaten is not necessarily a meal forgotten; long afterward he recalls an outstanding dish as though discussing a treasured object of art.

Paris, the natural hunting ground of the connoisseur, is an earthly paradise to Torres. He is half Parisian by birth. This connection was strengthened by long service in the Mexican Embassy in Paris. An incident of those days shows how completely at home he became in the Gallic scene. His compatriot, Luis Quintanilla, was on leave from the Embassy to continue some studies in the Sorbonne. Quintanilla, giving a luncheon for his professor of French literature, invited Torres and some students who did not know the professor. Not unreasonably, the talk turned to French literature. Torres sat forward in his chair and took over the conversation in such fluent French and with such obvious knowledge of the subject, that the professor finally gave up. Torres and the professor left before the students, who crowded around Quintanilla with their thanks for the opportunity of enjoying the discourse of "Professor Torres of the Sorbonne."

His office windows in UNESCO House on Avenue Kléber give Torres a view across the treetops to the

Arch of Triumph, but he has little time to enjoy it. His mornings are crowded with a stream of visitors, from nearly every country on earth. If their language is English, French, Spanish, or Italian, Torres talks with them fluently. For other languages he uses an interpreter, but his attention is so undivided that the visitor often forgets that Torres' replies come second-hand.

Promptly at noon, Torres takes the slow, ornate elevator cage to the ground floor, and walks with vigorous stride to a nearby restaurant where the chef's artistry meets his requirements. There he meets his wife, whom he greets like a sweetheart. The midday meal is a nice compromise between speed and Torres' devotion to food, because the papers continue to pile up while he is out of his office.

After lunch his secretary reads the list of the afternoon appointments, and *Monsieur le Directeur* sinks again into his work. The afternoon callers dwindle after four o'clock, and the only sound in the office is the rustle of papers and the rapid scratching of Torres' pen. His broad head seldom lifts from the work until night has fallen on Paris and the bells of a neighboring church are chiming eight o'clock.

For the Organization of American States, Torres' appointment to UNESCO guarantees a more effective collaboration between the two organizations. There is probably no one more intimately connected with the creation of the Organization of American States in its present form than Torres Bodet. Before he left the Department of Foreign Affairs, Mexico had deposited the instruments of ratification of the three international pacts that constitute the foundations of the inter-American system: the Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, the Inter-American Treaty of Pacific Settlement, and the Charter of the Organization of American States. These documents do not contain a single line that was not discussed, weighed, measured, or sponsored by the former Mexican Secretary of Foreign Affairs. With a team of brilliant assistants, he traveled the long corridors of the Hotel Quitandinha near Rio and of the Capitol in Bogotá, going from one committee to another, supervising the speed and quality of the work under way, proposing amendments, making speeches, suggesting formulae for agreement, arguing, contending, settling differences. He knows just how far the regional agency can be made to serve the purposes of the world organization, and how to use it best. The day his election was announced, the Council of the Organization of American States enthusiastically approved a congratulatory resolution, proud of the international recognition that has come to one of America's most capable men.

Torres Bodet has a great responsibility. All Americans are eagerly awaiting the first fruits of the work the distinguished Mexican promised to undertake at Beirut. And it is safe to say that before the other members of UNESCO have learned to pronounce his strange name—which starts with an Arabic "J" imported into Spain 400 years before the discovery of America—they will be convinced that they have made an excellent choice.

GUATEMALA Traveler's Paradise

Continued from page 21

The Petén is the only part of Guatemala not cobwebbed with roads. Travel there is by airplane, or by muleback or dugout canoe. But this weird region remembers glories not equalled by man's work today. A thousand years ago the Mayas, that baffling race which devised the most accurate calendar in human history, but which never thought of the wheel, built the magnificent cities of Uaxactum, Tikal, Menché and Piedras Negras deep in the Petén. Their silent temples and carved stone obelisks still stand, deserted in a mass exodus that has never been explained.

HOLIDAY AND FESTIVAL CALENDAR FOR MAY 1949

TRAVELERS arriving in any Latin American city on *May 1* should not be surprised to find business at a standstill and few, if any, taxicabs running. For on this date Labor Day is celebrated south of the border as a legal holiday. *May 26*, Ascension Day, principal religious holiday of the month, is also observed everywhere. Here are some other important May holidays and fiestas of special tourist interest:

MEXICO

April 25-May 5: A ten-day spring festival begins in Aguascalientes on April 25—St. Mark's Day and anniversary of the founding in 1604 of the town of San Marcos, now part of Aguascalientes. Fireworks and bullfights are major attractions, in addition to bazaars, parades, regional dances, athletic events, and art exhibits—all to the continuous accompaniment of *mariachi* music.

May 3: Day of the Holy Cross, is traditionally the bricklayers' festival day. Mexicans are roused at dawn by the popping of rocket firecrackers set off by the workers from buildings under construction. Daylight reveals more of their holiday handiwork: gay colored streamers, paper flags, and flowers have transformed the stark scaffoldings, and a flower-adorned cross marks each building's highest point. In Veracruz (State of the True Cross), the day is celebrated with regional dances. Amatlán de los Reyes, a town near Córdoba, has one of the liveliest festivals, with the popular Dance of the Moors and Christians as the chief attraction.

May 5 is one of the most important national holidays of the year, for it commemorates the victory of the Mexican forces over the French army and Maximilian at Puebla in 1862. In most towns and cities there are military parades, and often the Battle of Puebla is re-enacted as a farce. The most famous is the one put on at Peñón, a district of Mexico City. The battle rages all afternoon and ends at nightfall with a mock funeral procession and burial of the dead.

May 5: At Fortín de las Flores (State of Veracruz), an annual flower festival is held. Fortín is a bower of tropical bloom at all times (its Hotel Ruiz Galindo has become famous for the fragrant gardenias strewn over a patio swimming pool). For the Feria de las Flores, the town outdoes itself, with a profusion of orchids, gardenias, gladioli, and *azucenas* (small white lilies). The flower tournament, traditional symbolic dances, horse races, and bullfights are followed at night by fireworks.

May 10: Cuautla (State of Morelos), the hot-springs resort a few miles east of Cuernavaca, holds a *charro* festival in honor of Emiliano Zapata, a leader of the Mexican Revolution. Horsemen of the region don their most dashing *charro* costumes for tourna-

ments of skillful and daring horsemanship.

May 18-25: Juchitán (State of Oaxaca) on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, holds a spring festival each year in honor of San Vicente Ferrer. During the day there are pageants, sports events, and fairs, followed by the *velas* or formal balls, which last until dawn. Gala *tehuana* Indian costumes are worn by the women.

May 20: San Bernardino (State of Puebla) holds a colorful local festival annually in honor of the town's patron saint.

GUATEMALA

The corn-planting ceremonies, begun in March, often carry over into early May. This ancient observance, celebrated by the Indians throughout the country, combines church rituals with symbolic ceremonies in the fields. Some, complete with witch doctors, are more pagan than Christian.

May 2-3: The Fiesta of the Cross draws thousands of persons annually to Lake Amatitlán (Department of Guatemala), and combines the pilgrimage and worship with dances, music, water sports, and a colorful fair.

May 3: The regional fiesta held at Tecpán (Department of Chimaltenango) is notable for the distinctive costumes worn by Indians of many highland tribes.

May 3: The Fiesta of the Year Bearer is held in Jacaltenango and other villages in the Department of Huehuetenango. It is an interesting survival of an ancient Mayan ceremony of choosing the "Lords of the Year," special deities charged with the people's welfare under the unique Mayan calendar. This serious ceremony is preceded by twenty days of church rituals, a time when official Prayer Makers take over amid flowers, incense, and lighted candles.

Other Local Fairs and Festivals in Guatemala

May 2-7—Chiquimulilla (Department of Santa Rosa)

May 3—Chinautla (Department of Guatemala)

May 12—(One month after Holy Thursday) Quezaltenango religious festival of *Espíritu Santo* (Holy Ghost)

May 12-15—Coatepeque (Department of Quezaltenango)

May 13-20—Patzún (Department of Chimaltenango)

ARGENTINA

May 21: Day of Our Lady of Luján. Pilgrimages are made from all over Argentina to the colonial town of Luján, about 40 miles from Buenos Aires. An imposing Gothic basilica houses the Shrine of the Virgin.

May 25, Independence Day, is a legal holiday celebrated throughout the country.

BRAZIL

May is the "Month of the Virgin Mary," celebrated throughout Brazil with religious processions, novenas, and special church services. Church altars are blanketed in white flowers, and members of the "Daughters of Mary" religious society—robed in white with filmy veils and blue sashes—take a conspicuous part in the processions.

During May, in Belém (State of Pará), special feasts are organized to pay homage to particular saints by their most fervent devotees, on days the worshipers choose. Now traditional in Belém are the homages paid to the Holy Ghost by "Master Martinho" and "Aunt Anna of the Straws;" and to Saint Sebastian by his special devotee, Raymundo Silva, a lay preacher. Rich in folklore, these neighborhood celebrations are highlighted by the raising of a "votive mast," or flagpole. The mast, laden with streamers, flowers, and fruit, goes up in front of the devotee's home after it has been borne through the streets in a procession. Chanting of prayers and beating of drums accompany the ceremony, which is followed by the feast and frequently by fireworks and similar special attractions.

May 3: Commemorates the discovery of Brazil in 1500 by Pedro Álvares Cabral.

DON GUSTAVO'S ANSWER

Continued from page 25

Blueprints for San Carlos were drawn up by Gabriel Serrano, a Colombian architect. Ground was broken in 1943, but wartime conditions made the going slow, and San Carlos was five years a-building. The first patients were admitted in January. All told, it cost 6,000,000 pesos, or about \$3,000,000. Much of this came from income on the stocks and property of Don Gustavo's bequest, so that the bulk of his original gift remains for use by the Restrepo Foundation in meeting the enormous operating expenses.

Few cities in Latin America have a sanitarium like this one. Eight stories high, it can hold 456 patients. Its elaborate portico and marbled foyer give the impression of a high-class hotel. The first newsmen to be shown through went back to their typewriters and hammered out lyrical accounts of what they had seen. *El Tiempo*, leading Bogotá daily, captioned a front-page photo of San Carlos "The Pride of the Country."

On the first floor are lush offices for hospital officials, ultra-modern dental and X-ray equipment, quarantine rooms for the checking and sorting of patients, a library, and even a drugstore. The second floor is divided between the antiseptic domain of the doctors and the equally antiseptic realm of the cooks. The doctors' half is taken up by operating rooms (with glassed-in balconies for students), specialized treatment rooms, four laboratories, and living accommodations for experimental rabbits and mice. The other half is devoted to highly-mechanized kitchens and cheery dining rooms for patients, nurses, visitors, servants, and the Sisters of Charity (who operate the hospital).

On the next four floors gleaming, sound-proof corri-

dors connect a maze of pastel-tinted rooms for penniless victims of tuberculosis. There are two to five beds to a room, and, for people who have never known any of the comforts of life, each bed will be equipped with a radio and telephone.

Patients on pension are grouped together on the seventh floor, but their rooms are no different from those of their less-fortunate fellows. Sunny solariums on all floors offer sweeping views of the savanna's fertile pastures and the bordering range of the Andes. On the top floor, a movie theater adds the final flourish.

Under the portico at the entrance to palatial San Carlos will stand a bust of its benefactor, reminding all comers, and especially the jokers who giped at him all his life, that Don Gustavo had the last laugh.

HOW THE RIO TREATY WORKS

Continued from page 11

situation. It was a threat to international peace, and not a disruption of the peace. No armed attack was made by one American State on another. No act of aggression was defined. But the Treaty has the power to put stronger pressure on more serious problems. All of which leads us to believe that no such problems will arise between the American States.

After their return, the Ambassadors reported to the Council. From the report the dispassionate reader will gather that, while the incidents were not particularly serious in themselves, they produced distrust and recrimination that might bring a future, if not an immediate, threat to the peace.

The Organ of Consultation asked both governments to abstain at once from all hostilities. The Resolution stated that the Nicaraguan Government should have taken adequate measures to prevent the development in Nicaraguan territory of a movement to overthrow the Costa Rican Government and the crossing of the frontier by revolutionary forces.

Referring to the famous Caribbean Legion, the Resolution declared that the Government of Costa Rica must prevent the existence in its territory of armed groups organized for the purpose of planning to unseat the governments of Nicaragua or other republics of the Western Hemisphere.

The Resolution asked both governments to observe the principles and ideals of non-intervention and solidarity embodied in the various inter-American agreements they had signed.

The Organ of Consultation further decided to continue in session until both Nicaragua and Costa Rica would abide by the Resolution. They also decided to send a Commission of Military Experts to observe and report on the manner in which the two States carried out the instructions of the Resolution.

The action of the Council brought the incident to an end with the signing of a Treaty of Friendship between Costa Rica and Nicaragua in Washington on February 21.



Gustavo Restrepo Mejía, whose hospital admits no incurables: "I want a sanitarium, not a place where people come to die"

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Brazil's HERNANE TAVARES DE SÁ, who contributes "Test Tube for Peace," joined the Pan American Union staff last summer equipped with a fluent knowledge of its four official languages plus German and Italian. This fabulous linguistic agility carries over into his writing. His book, *The Brazilians, People of Tomorrow*, published in New York in 1947, is not a translation; he wrote it in English. He has also crammed into his short career a fair amount of lecturing and teaching. In the United States, Dr. Tavares' articles have appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Holiday*, *Life*, *The Saturday Review of Literature*, the *New York Herald Tribune*, among others. In Rio, his column in *Jornal do Brasil* on "Brazil-United States" is the oldest regular feature on inter-American affairs in the hemisphere. Dr. Tavares now makes his home in Washington with his Texan wife and small daughter, Adriana.



When he was fifteen, JORGE BASADRE of Peru ("Books and Authors in Latin America") had to get special permission to read the books of the great National Library in Lima because of his youth. When it was gutted by fire in 1943, Dr. Basadre was named Director and given the tremendous task of rebuilding the collection. The Library now has a new home, some 180,000 volumes, and its own school of library science. Last year, its genial Director became head of the Pan American Union's Department of Cultural Affairs.

Dr. Basadre is the author of many works on history and law—he taught both subjects at Lima's venerable University of San Marcos—and a volume of literary criticism, *Equivocaciones*. His latest book, *Chile, Perú y Bolivia Independientes*, was published in Spain in 1948.

Colombian-born GERMÁN ARCINIEGAS, author of "What's Behind Our Revolutions?", is familiar to U. S. readers through his books, *The Knight of El Dorado* (on Bogotá's founder Jiménez de Quesada); *Caribbean, Sea of the New World*; and an anthology, *The Green Continent*, which he edited. Many U. S. students have met him as visiting professor at Columbia and the Universities of California and Chicago. In his 49 years, Dr. Arciniegas has also been editor of a leading Bogotá daily, *El Tiempo*; editor of the Colombian literary reviews *Revista de las Indias* and *Revista de América*; Colombian Minister of Education; and several times a diplomat. He is shown here with some of the Indian pottery toys he collects in the marketplaces of the hemisphere.



"U. S. Authors Look South" is an extension of Chilean ERNEST MONTE-NEGRO's long-time role as a kind of inter-American literary liaison man. On the one hand, as book critic and lecturer he acquaints his U. S. audience with the literary output of Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking countries. On the other, he interprets life in the United States for readers south of the border. He is also a short-story writer in his own right. And for the past ten years, he has been a regular contributor to *La Prensa* of Buenos Aires.

WILLIAM VOGT was Secretary General of the inter-American conservation conference he writes about in "New Farms for Old." Since the appearance of his best-selling *Road To Survival* last fall, his outspoken views on population and natural resources have been heatedly attacked and defended both in print and on the air. A born nature lover, Mr. Vogt got his start with the Jones Beach Bird Sanctuary on his native Long Island. Later, after a turn at editing *Bird Lore*, he went to Peru to survey guano deposits for the government. During World War II, he was with G-2 and the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. As Chief of the Pan American Union's Conservation Section, he has made on-the-spot investigations of natural resources for the governments of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Mexico, and Venezuela.



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Answers to Questions on Page 43

1. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.
2. Machu Picchu, hidden for some 400 years.
3. *El pato*. The game gets its name from the *gaucho* "ball"—a duck sewed inside a piece of rawhide.
4. Chinchilla.
5. Panamanians. Their islands make up the Archipiélago de las Mulatas off the coast of Panama.
6. Mexico.
7. Dr. Luis Batlle Berres.
8. Bogotá, Colombian capital.
9. Havana, Cuba.
10. Quinine.

Opposite: Magnificent colonial wood-carving of the Crucifixion carried in Quito candlelight procession of Holy Thursday. Back cover: Visitors in patio of Popayán home of late Colombian poet Guillermo Valencia. House is now a national shrine.



